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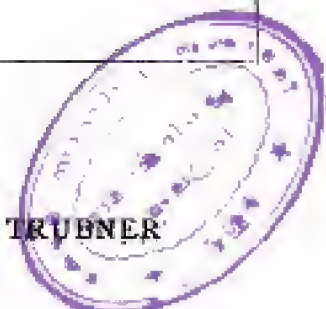
MANUAL OF INDIAN BUDDHISM.

BY

H. KERN.

STRASSBURG  
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1896.



In diesem Werk soll zum ersten Mal der Versuch gemacht werden, einen Gesamtüberblick über die einzelnen Gebiete der indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde in knapper und systematischer Darstellung zu geben. Die Mehrzahl der Gegenstände wird damit überhaupt zum ersten Mal eine zusammenhängende abgerundete Behandlung erfahren; deshalb darf von dem Werk reicher Gewinn für die Wissenschaft selbst erhofft werden, trotzdem es in erster Linie für Lesende bestimmt ist.

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## ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH

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VOL. III, PART 2.

## MANUAL OF INDIAN BUDDHISM.

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H. KERN.

## PART I.

## INTRODUCTION.

## 1. THE SACRED BOOKS.

The sacred lore of the Buddhists is based on the canonical books, a complete collection of which is technically called *Tripiṭaka* (*Tiṭṭaka*), i. e. the three Baskets: 1. *Vinaya*, *Sūtra* (*Sutta*), and *Abhidharma* (*Abhidhamma*). Of all the collections going by that name the Pāli *Tripiṭaka*, representing the version acknowledged by the orthodox Theras or *Vibhajjavādins* of Ceylon, is the only one which forms a well arranged whole and is sufficiently known to admit of a critical disquisition into the relative age of its component parts, at least to a certain extent.

The *Vinaya*, as its very name implies, treats chiefly of Discipline and all questions connected with it<sup>1</sup>. About the development of the *Vinaya* we find most valuable hints in Prof. OLSENBERG's Introduction to the *Mahāvagga*<sup>2</sup>. His conclusions are summarized in the following list of successive events in the ancient literary history of Buddhism: 1. The genesis of the *Pātimokkha*. The earliest beginnings of the Dhamma literature. 2. The formation of the commentary on the *Pātimokkha*, which is included in the *Vibhaṅga*. 3. The *Vibhaṅga* is compiled; the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* are composed; origin of the main substance of the *Suttanta* literature. 4. Council at Vesālī ( $\pm$  383 B. C.). 5. Origin of the legend of the Council at Rājagaha; composition of the closing chapter of the *Vinaya*. 6. Schisms in the Buddhist community; origin of the *Abhidhamma*. 7. Council at Pāṭlipuṣṭa; the *Kathāvatthū*.

All these propositions are supported by sound reasoning and seem plausible enough, though a more thorough knowledge of the remains of the *old* Northern versions than we now possess may necessitate us to modify our views in some particulars<sup>3</sup>.

The *Sutta-Piṭaka*, much more extensive and diversified than the *Vinaya*, may be said, in a loose way, to treat of various subjects more or less related to Doctrine. Its fivefold division into *Nikāyas*<sup>4</sup> already occurs in *Cullavagga*

<sup>1</sup> The P. *Vinaya* books have been completely edited by Prof. H. OLSENBERG (1879-83) under the titles of *Mahāvagga*, *Cullavagga*, *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, and *Parivāra*.

<sup>2</sup> See these p. XV ff.; cp. *Introd.* to SBE. XIII by Prof. RUVS DAVIDS and OLSENBERG; and *Intro.* to *Dhammapada*, SBE. X, p. XXIX ff. by Prof. MAX MÜLLER.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the criticisms on OLSENBERG's views by MINAYNE *Recherches* I, 61-67.

<sup>4</sup> To wit 1. *Dīgha-Nikāya*; 2. *Majjhima-Nikāya*; 3. *Saṃyutta-N.*; 4. *Aṅguttara-N.* These 4 *Nikāyas* are also called *Āgamas*, which is the usual term with the N. Buddhists. 5. *Khudda-N.*, comprising *Khuddaka-piṭka*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Sutta-Nipata*, *Indo-Aryan Research*. 13, 2.



XI, 1, 8, but the separate works are not mentioned; we only meet with the titles of the two first Suttas of the D. N. At the same passage we are told that the text of the 5 Nikāyas was rehearsed at the first council with the assistance of Ānanda, who bore witness as to the place where, the person concerning whom, and the cause for which each Sutta had been delivered. This account, apart from the legendary character of the first Council, cannot be true, for the opening formula of the Suttantas is *evam me sutaṃ*, which is impossible but in the mouth of one who derives his knowledge of the Master's teaching from oral tradition; no contemporary disciple can speak in such a manner<sup>1</sup>. It may be remarked that the formula is absent from the Vinaya. In general we may assume that the disciplinary rules were elaborated much earlier than the doctrinal writings<sup>2</sup>.

About the age of the sundry books in the 5th Nikāya little can be affirmed with any degree of certainty. This much, however, is plain that their contents belong to different periods. To begin with the Jātakas, it will hardly be doubted that many of these popular tales are very old, some of them older than Buddhism itself. It is by no means improbable that from the time of the first expansion of the sect those tales, modified according to the exigencies of the creed, were used by the preaching monks for didactic purposes. It appears from the sculptures at Bharhut and Sāncī that the Jātakas were known as an integral part of Buddhist lore at the time of Aśoka<sup>3</sup>.

Whatever may be thought of the relative age of the different Suttantas<sup>4</sup> in the four Āgamas, and of the various compositions in the Khudda-Nikāya, the great bulk of the Sutta-Piṭaka in substance probably existed already in the 3d century B. C. The identification of the titles mentioned in the inscription of Bābhra (Bairat) is attended with difficulties, but one Sutta at least, the "Lāghulovāda concerning falsehood" is evidently the same as the "Rāhulovāda on Musāvāda" in Majjhima-N. I. C. 414. It has been pointed out by H. Müller<sup>5</sup> that the occurrence of the title *paṇcānikāyika* (*\*pañcanāikāyika*) presupposes the existence of a collection of 5 Nikāyas. It is, however, necessary to add that the remark does not apply to all sects; for aught we know, the division of the Sutta-Piṭaka in 5 Nikāyas is peculiar to the Theravāda<sup>6</sup>. As to the subdivisions of the Nikāyas, there was some disagreement even among the Theravādins themselves<sup>7</sup>.

The Abhidhamma-P.<sup>8</sup> is not mentioned at all in CV. This fact is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that it is posterior to the Council of Vesālī,

Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātakas, Niddesa or Mahā-Niddesa, Paṭisambhida-magga, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariya-piṭaka. See Saddh. S. p. 27; cp. CHILDERS Dict. p. 307.

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of the Council of R. is maintained by ROCKHILL, Life of the Buddha, p. VII. Cp. MAYER, Recherches, ch. II and III.

<sup>2</sup> This is also the opinion of WASSILJEFF, R., p. 17. About the earliest beginnings of the doctrinal literature cp. OLDENBURG, Introd. p. XXIV.

<sup>3</sup> See S. d'OLDENBURG JRAS of 1893, pp. 301—356; HERTZSCH DMG XI and Ind. ART. XXI, 245 ff.; MÜLLER Votive inscriptions from the Sanchi Stūpas (Epigr. Ind. II, 87); The inscriptions on the Sanchi Stūpas (WZ VII, 291); On the origin of the Indian Brahman Alphabet, p. 17; A. ST. JOHN On the Sama Jātakas (JRAS of 1894, p. 211); the N. version titled Nyāyaka-jāt. in Mahāvastu II, 210. On the discrepancies of the Bharhut Jātakas compared with the Pālī version, see MAYER Recherches I, 140 ff.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. the Assalayana-Sutta (ed. FISCHER 1880), in which the Indian caste system and the absence of castes with the Greeks are contrasted, cannot have been composed earlier than the 3d cent. B. C., but other Suttas may be much older.

<sup>5</sup> Op. c. p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. A. BARTH Bull. Rel. de l'Inde, 1893—1894, p. 1. (separate copy).

<sup>7</sup> See CHILDERS s. v. *nāḍḍya*.

<sup>8</sup> Consists of seven Pekaragases: Dhammasaṅgāṇī, Vibhaṅga, Dhāraṇakatha, Puggala-

a conclusion moreover strengthened by its character. "The compilers of the Abhidhamma books seem to have taken up such subjects, only as are discussed at full length in the Nikāyas, dealing with them more or less in a purely scholastic and technical manner with some variation in regard to the order and arrangement of the numerous details connected with the Buddhist creed"<sup>1</sup>. The edited texts, in fact, consist of a bare enumeration of classifications and definitions, which justifies the use of the term *mātrkā* as synonymous with *śālistharmā* in Northern writings<sup>2</sup>. "The period between the Council of Vesālī and that of Pāṭaliputta", to use the words of OLDENBERG<sup>3</sup> "saw the origin of the schism, and was also the time of the development of the Abhidhamma literature".

The canonical books of the various sects among the Northern Buddhists — to use a more convenient than wholly accurate term — in so far as they have their counterparts in the Pāli canon and do not belong to the *new* canon of the Mahāyānist<sup>4</sup>, are but partially known. On comparing, first of all, the Chinese Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, a short analysis of which was communicated to OLDENBERG by BEAL, with the extracts of the Tibetan Vinaya of the Mahāsarvāstivādins<sup>5</sup>, the editor of the MV, draws the following conclusions<sup>6</sup>: "All of the different versions of the Vinaya are based upon *one* foundation; the arrangement of the material is the same in all; a large portion of the stories interwoven in the text correspond in all<sup>7</sup>. It has been pointed out above, that of the elements which constitute the Vibhaṅga the narrative portions were added last; the addition of these stories was made at an earlier period than that in which the differences of the various schools arose. Even the story of the first two Councils — which is clearly the part of the Pāli Vinaya last composed, is also met with at the exactly corresponding place in the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, and of the Mahāsarvāstivādinas."

Here it should be observed that both the Mahīśāsakas and Mahāsarvāstivādins are offshoots of the orthodox Śhāvirivāda, and may be said to form subdivisions of the orthodox community. It is therefore very natural that their Vinaya bears so close a resemblance to that of the Theras. But from this it does not follow that *all* versions of the Vinaya, those of the different versions of the schismatic Mahāsāṅghikas included, show the same degree of affinity. Apart from the biased testimony of their opponents that the Mahāsāṅghikas had altered the original redaction and made changes in the Vinaya and the 5 Nikāyas<sup>8</sup>, we can adduce a fact that one sect at least of the Mahāsāṅghika party made a peculiar application of the term Vinaya. The Mahāvastu, a book belonging to the school of the Lokottaravādins, a sub-

paṭṭatti [or 'paṇṇati], Kathaṇṇthu, Yamaka, and Puggala. — A compendium of the whole is the Abhidhammasettha-Saṅgaha, ed. by Prof. KHYS DAVIES JPTS of 1884.

<sup>1</sup> Words of MOORE in Intr. to his edition of the Puggala-paṭṭatti, p. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. Divy. p. 18; 133; BUNDSCH Intr. p. 48; 317. Cp. ROCKHILL, L. of B. p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Op. c. p. XXXIV.

<sup>4</sup> The term Tripiṭaka, when applied to a collection including Mahāyānist books, is properly a misnomer. In the Vyutpatti § 65 the Tripiṭaka and its subdivisions are duly separated from the Mahāyānist canonical works, the titles of which are given. The Tripiṭaka is not repudiated by the Mahāyānist; it is recognized by them, and stands to their own canon somewhat in the same relation as the Old Testament to the New.

<sup>5</sup> According to CHOMA KŌKŌBI in An. Rev. XX, especially p. 45 ff. Cp. JASB I, 1—6, and HURIT, Die Tibetische Version der Nāgārjuna-prajñāpāramitā-kāraṇī (1891).

<sup>6</sup> Intr. p. XLVII.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. JASB I, 1—6. The division in the Tibetan Dulva is: Vinayavastu, Brahmajāla-sūtra, Vinayavibhaṅga, Vinayakūśaka, and Vinayottaragrantha. Cp. Vyutp. § 65.

<sup>8</sup> Dharm. V, 32 ff. Bodhivajra, p. 96.



lation<sup>1</sup>. Many titles of Sūtras are also known to us from the Tibetan version, some of them in more or less complete translation, e. g. the important *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*<sup>2</sup>. The subject matter of those old Sūtras has passed, more or less modified, into the *Vaipulya-Sūtras*, forming part of the new or *Mahāyānist* canon, about which anon.

The *Abhidharma* books corresponding to those in the P. canon, seven in number, have survived in a Chinese translation. It is not a little curious that in more than one source most of them are ascribed to well known disciples of the Buddha<sup>3</sup>. In how far the original version has been meddled with is a question which can only be solved by those who are able to compare the Chinese translation with the Pāli *Abhidharma* texts. Works like the *Abhidharma-Kosa* by Vasubandhu do not belong to the canonical literature.

The *Tripiṭaka* properly so called, has for a large part yielded the material for the *Vaipulya-Sūtras*, which if not all of them were composed by the *Mahāyānist*s have at least been adopted by them and incorporated in their new canon. Outwardly the *Vaipulya-Sūtras* are distinguished from the older Sūtras by a different manner of composition and by the change of idiom. We regularly find in them sections in a redaction in prose, followed by one in verse, the latter being in substance only a repetition of the former<sup>4</sup> or, may be, in some cases the source of the narrative in prose. The idiom of the prosaical part is a kind of Sanskrit; that of the verses, *Gāthās*, is a veiled *Prākṛit* somewhat clumsily *sanskritised* as much as the exigencies of the metre permitted. In our opinion, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the prose is a regular translation from a *Prākṛit* text into Sanskrit, a comparatively easy task, whereas a rendering of the *Gāthās* into Sanskrit would be impossible without entirely remodelling most verses. Why and when has the original idiom been replaced by Sanskrit? At present we can do no more but surmise that the translation was resolved upon in order to meet the wants of the times. It has been the common fate of all *Prākṛits* that they became obsolete, whilst the study and practice of Sanskrit have been kept up all over India as the common language of science, literature and refinement, and as a bond between Aryans and Dravidas. At what time did Sanskrit reconquer its ascendancy? Of course gradually, but we are not in a position to fix the limits of the period with anything like certainty. We would, however, suggest that the necessity of re-founding the Scripture made itself felt shortly before or after the Council in the reign of Kaniska.

Some *Vaipulyas* are, materially, much like the old Sūtras. Whole passages e. g. of the *Lalitā-Vistara* recur almost word for word in the Pāli Scriptures. In the majority of cases works of the same class show more significant peculiarities. In general it may be said that the stock of tradition, common

<sup>1</sup> The whole divided into 4 Agamas: Dīrgha-, Mādhyama-, Ekottarika-, and Samyaktāgama. WASSILIER, II, p. 115. Whether the *Kuśāragama*, mentioned by *Taraṇātha* p. 42 may be held to be the counterpart of the *Khudda-Nikāya*, must be left undecided.

<sup>2</sup> ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 123 ff.

<sup>3</sup> WASSILIER, II, p. 107; BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 447; *Taraṇātha* p. 296; Vyūp. § 65. The titles and reputed authors are: 1. *Jñānaprasthāna*, by Kātyāyana (al. Kātyāyanaśāstra); cp. the Pāli title *Paṭṭhāna*. 2. *Dharmasakandha*, by Śāriputra; cp. *Dharmasamgaḥ*. 3. *Dhātukāya*, by Pūrṇa (al. Vasumitra); cp. *Dhātukatha*. 4. *Prajñaptiśāstra*, by Mandagalyayāna (with WASSILIER *Anguttara* by Goṣṭha); cp. *Puggala-pañcatti*. 5. *Vijñānakāya*, by Devakṣema (al. Devakṣarma). 6. *Saṅgiti-parāya*, by Śāriputra (al. Kaṇṭhika). 7. *Prakarana-pada*, by Vasumitra. The three last books may or may not be the counterparts of the P. *Vibhāṅga*, *Kathāvatthū*, and *Yamaka*. Some of these works are also mentioned by Hsueh Tsiang, Voy. I, p. 102; 109; 123. II, 119; 201; 291.

<sup>4</sup> BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 103.

to all Buddhists, increased among the non-orthodox sects by much additional matter. New mythological beings, such as the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, make their appearance; a host of Buddhas of the past, present and future are honoured and invoked along with Sākyamuni, whose image, however, far from being effaced, is clad in brilliant majesty more than ever<sup>1</sup>.

All Vajpulya texts we know of are qualified as Mahāyāna Sūtras, and constitute the new or Mahāyānist canon<sup>2</sup>. Since we learn from Chinese authorities that the Lalita-Vistara, a decided Mahāyāna Sūtra, properly belongs to the Śarvāstivādins, we must infer that the Mahāyānists did not scruple to adopt such works of the Hīnayāna sects as fitted in with their system, though we cannot help believing that the text must have undergone modifications.

The chronological questions connected with the rise of Mahāyānism are too vast to admit of an incidental treatment. Here it will suffice to note that the Mahāyāna Sūtra Sukhāvati-Vyūha or Amītyus-Sūtra is stated to have been translated into Chinese for the first time AD. 148—170<sup>3</sup>. If this notice be exact, and equally the tradition that Nāgārjuna, born about the time of the Council under Kaṇṣka, was the founder of Mahāyānism, the Sūtra fore-named must have been one of the very first writings composed or adopted by the new sect. In reality Nāgārjuna may have been one of the most talented and influential leaders of the movement rather than its originator.

To the Mahāyānists is ascribed the introduction of Dhāraṇīs into the sacred texts<sup>4</sup>. How to reconcile this with the statement by Huen Tsang that the Mahāsaṅghikas possessed a Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka from the very beginning of their sect? Unless we repudiate the truthfulness of the report altogether, we are driven to the conclusion that the Mahāyānists did not invent the Dhāraṇīs, but only appropriated them as an integral part of their system. There are, indeed, several indications of a certain connection between the tendencies of the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Mahāyānists, as in the course of this work we shall have occasion to point out. Hence it would be rash to deny the relative trustworthiness of the tradition current in India when the Chinese traveller visited the country. The circumstance that the Dhāraṇīs are visibly accretences of such texts as the Saddharma-Puṇḍarikā<sup>5</sup>, is no decisive argument against the prior separate existence of the formulas.

Of later growth than the Dhāraṇīs, which are exoteric in their character, are the esoteric Tantras. As to the whole Tantric literature, the full development whereof coincides with the decline of Buddhism, we must content ourselves with referring the reader to the authorities on the subject<sup>6</sup>.

Besides the division of the whole of Holy Scripture into 3 Piṭakas, the

<sup>1</sup> BERNOUR, *Int.* p. 146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The titles of these Sūtras, few of which have been edited, are given in *Vyat.* § 65; cp. WASSILIER, *l.* p. 143 ff. Some titles also occur in the list of the 9 Dharmas — an elliptical phrase for Dharmaparyāyas — with HODGSON, *loc.* p. 13, 49. Cp. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Rājendralala Mitra (1882); the Catalogue of the Hodgson Collection by COWELL and EGGERSON, in *JRAS* of 1875; do. of the Cambridge Collection by BENDALL.

<sup>3</sup> Sukhāvati-Vyūha, ed. MAX MÜLLER and BENYU NANJO, pag. IV. — Dates of translation of other books are given in *Index*, *Buddhist Tripitaka*, and BENYU NANJO, *Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the 12 Tripiṭaka*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller account see BERNOUR, *Int.* p. 341 g.; WASSILIER, *l.* p. 142; 177 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See *SDE*, XXI, *Int.* p. XXI.

<sup>6</sup> BERNOUR, *Int.* p. 322—574; WASSILIER, *l.* p. 144, 184 ff.; WARDLAW, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 129 ff. Several Tantric works are contained in the Catalogue of the Hodgson Collection by COWELL and EGGERSON; cp. BERNOUR *l. c.* and the list in HODGSON, *op. c.* 38 f. On the influence of Sinitic Tantras on the Buddhist Tantrism of Nepal see BARTH, *Rel. of India* p. 201.

Buddhists of the South and the North have in common another into Āngas, according to the subject matter. The Pāli denomination of these Āngas, 9 in number, are: 1. Sutta, a connected narrative or a collection of verses on one subject; 2. Geyya, mixed prose and verse; 3. Veyyakaraṇa, exposition; it contains, according to the system, the whole Abhidhamma-Piṭaka, further the Suttas which have no Gāthās, and all the other words of Buddha not included in the remaining eight Āngas; 4. Gāthā, unmixed verses; 5. Udāna, enthusiastic utterances in prose or verse; in the system: "Suttas connected with stanzas composed under the inspiration of joy"; 6. Itivuttaka, the collection of 101 Suttas beginning with the words: "Thus has Buddha spoken"; 7. Jātaka, stories of one of the former births of Buddha<sup>1</sup>; 8. Abbhutadhamma, discourses relating to wonderful and mysterious conditions; 9. Vedalla, a kind of Suttas said to be questions put after feeling a pleasant emotion and contentment, whatever that may mean<sup>2</sup>.

With the N. Buddhists we sometimes find the same number<sup>3</sup>, but more common is the enumeration of 12 kinds of Dharmaprayacanas: 1. Sūtra; 2. Geyya; 3. Vyākaraṇa; 4. Gāthā; 5. Udāna; 6. Nidāna; 7. Avadāna; 8. Ityukta (wrongly Itivuttaka); 9. Jātaka; 10. Vaipulya; 11. Abbhutadhamma; 12. Upadeśa<sup>4</sup>. This enumeration agrees with that of the Sinhalese if we deduct Nidāna, Avadāna, and Upadeśa. Nidānas and Avadānas are sufficiently represented in the Pāli canon, but they are not accounted as separate Āngas. As to the Vaipulyas, these "treat of several sorts of Dharma and Artha, that is of the several means of acquiring the goods of this world (Artha) and of the world to come (Dharma)". They may safely be identified with the Pāli Vedalla, having nothing but the name in common with the Vaipulya-Sūtras. The Upadeśa, professing to treat of esoteric doctrines, is equivalent to Tantra, which lies outside the pale of original Buddhism.

In connection with the preceding survey we cannot omit touching upon the question of the original language of the holy books. Although "the Pāli version" — to use the words of Prof. OLDENBERG — "has hitherto shown itself to be the most original, if not *the* original version", as regards the contents, "it may with certainty be maintained that in *one* respect, in reference to the *diatex*, it differs from the original text", the fundamental constituent parts of which were undoubtedly fixed in the idiom of Magadha. It is now universally admitted that Pāli does *not* represent that idiom<sup>5</sup>, whatever may be the different views about the original home of Pāli. The most plausible view is that Pāli originated in Kalīṅga-Andhra<sup>6</sup>. From an important passage

<sup>1</sup> To the valuable essay "On the Buddhist Jātakas" by S. v. OLDENBERG, already alluded to above p. 2, in JRS of 1893, p. 391 ff. (originally Russian in Zapiski of 1892) is added a copious bibliographical list of works regarding the Jātakas; other Russian papers of the same author on the Bhadrakalpavāṇī and the Jātaka-māla are titled "Buddhist Legends" (1894), and "Remarks on Buddhist Art" (1895).

<sup>2</sup> The definitions are found in Sumaṅgala-Viṭṭasi, vol. 1, pag. 23 ff. Cp. CHANDLER s. vv. and the authors there quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Saddh. Pend. Ch. II, vs. 45, cp. vs. 44.

<sup>4</sup> WASSILJEW, B. p. 109; Dharmas. LXII, and note; HOSKINS, Ess. p. 14; ROUSSEY, Intr. §1 ff. — The class of Ityukta is apparently represented by the Sūtra of the 42 Sections (in BEAL's Cat. p. 188), which has traits in common with the Itivuttaka, though the material agreement, as between Sect. 9 and Sutta 100, is slight.

<sup>5</sup> Rightly observed already by LASSER, Indische Alterthumskunde vol. II, p. 488.

<sup>6</sup> The question is fully discussed by OLDENBERG, op. c. p. XLVII ff. But cp. WESTERGAARD, Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte, p. 87; and E. KÖHN, Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik, p. 7, where another hypothesis is propounded. — The significant fact that the word *paṭiśāḍha*, common to Magadhi and Pāli, is replaced by *pariśāḍha* in the Gīṇar version of Aśoka Edict V, goes far to prove that the home of Pāli is not to be sought for in W. India.



in *Culla-Vagga*, (V, 33), where we read that Buddha allows every one to study the Buddha-word in his own dialect, we may conclude that at the time when the sacred texts were spread over India "they were certainly not handed over to the different parts of India in the Magadhi language, but in the vernacular dialect peculiar to the several districts". This being taken for granted, nothing prevents us from supposing that the Northern versions which have come to us in Sanskrit and in a certain Sanskritised idiom, although ultimately going back to a Magadhi original, have passed through an intermediate stage, in other words, that Magadhi was replaced by other local dialects. Now the course of events in India and its literary development have been such that we can readily understand how at a certain period it was thought advisable to Sanskritise the sacred texts as much as possible. The more scientifically Sanskrit was learnt by the Buddhists, the more correct their writings. Some renowned names in mediaeval Sanskrit literature belong to authors of the Buddhist persuasion. The steadily growing ascendancy of Sanskrit is visible even in Ceylon, for, not to speak of later inscriptions, we learn from Fa Hian<sup>1</sup> that the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* and other texts of the *Mahāśākas* in the island were in Sanskrit.

### 2. LITERATURE SUBSIDIARY TO THE CANON. WORKS ON LEGENDARY AND SEMI-HISTORICAL SUBJECTS. RELIGIOUS POETRY.

The sacred books have naturally given rise to a subsidiary literature in the form of commentaries, manuals, treatises, and the like<sup>2</sup>. The mass of that literature, both in the S. and the N., is so immense that only a very few of the most noteworthy productions can here be treated of.

Beginning with the South, we first have the *Aṭṭhakathā*, a body of commentaries on the various parts of the *Tiṭṭhaka*<sup>3</sup>. According to Sinhalese tradition the *Aṭṭhakathā* was fixed at the first Convocation, and rehearsed at the two following Councils; it was introduced by Mahendra along with the holy texts into Ceylon, and translated by the same into Sinhalese; it was not put to writing before the reign of Abhaya Vajragāmani, in the last century B. C., and retranslated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa about A. D. 420<sup>4</sup>. It is easy to see that those statements are a mixture of dogmatical fiction and truth. This much is well ascertained that there existed a collection of commentaries of semi-sacred character under the name of *Aṭṭhakathā* in the time when the *Dīpavamsa* was written, about A. D. 300, but we are in the dark about the relative age of its various portions, and we possess as yet no sufficient data for making out what has been added or changed after A. D. 300, either by Buddhaghosa or by others. The story in the *Mahāvamsa* according to which Buddhaghosa translated the whole *Aṭṭhakathā* is in conflict with some

<sup>1</sup> Record (LEGGE), p. 111. The doubts entertained by Prof. OLDENBERG (op. c. p. XLIII) are, apparently, based upon the assumption of the Theravāda being the only B. sect in the island.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS of Pāli sacred books and their commentaries in the India Office Library have been described by OLDENBERG in JPTS of 1882 (pp. 59—85); a list of the collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale has been published by L. FEER, ib. pp. 32—37; see in that same number of the Journal the lists by FRANKFURTER, and by L. DE ZUYLA; the Bibliography of texts in FRANKFURTER's Handbook XV—XVIII; of translations, XIX.

<sup>3</sup> The titles enumerated in CHULHANS & V. *Aṭṭhakathā*; Saddh. S. p. 56; MINAYEF *Recherches* I, 258, from the *Gandhavyāsa*.

<sup>4</sup> Dsp. XX, 20; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 205 ff. Sutt. VII. I, p. 1. Saddh. S. p. 52 ff. HARDSY, E. M. p. 171; cp. M. of B. p. 509 ff.

well established facts. The commentary on the Therā and Therīgāthā titled *Parasāntha-Dīpanī*, and some other commentaries have been composed by *Dharmapāla* of *Kāścīpura*, and not by *Buddhaghosa*<sup>1</sup>. Further it should be noted that *Buddhaghosa* in his *Samanta-Pāsādikā* quotes the *Dīpavaṃsa* by name. The *Aṭṭhakathā* being professedly older than the chronicle, his work cannot have been a simple translation, or he must have found those quotations in his original and in that case some portions of the *Aṭṭhakathā* must have been posterior to the chronicle.

Notwithstanding some doubts about the absolute correctness of the Sinhalese accounts, we may hold that the principal Pāli commentaries on canonical works are due to *Buddhaghosa*, as well as the *Visuddhimagga*<sup>2</sup>, a kind of cyclopaedia of the Buddhist creed. Another work that has been characterized as "a short encyclopaedia of the Buddhist theology and cosmology" is the *Sārasaṅgha*<sup>3</sup>. The commentary on the treatise *Kathāvatthū*<sup>4</sup> contains much about the tenets of the various sects.

A dogmatical treatise in the form of dialogues between king *Milinda*<sup>5</sup> and the Buddhist sage *Nāgaseṇa* is the work titled *Milinda-Paiṭha*<sup>6</sup>. Date and source of the work are uncertain, but for various reasons it must be posterior to the beginning of our era, and have been composed in the North of India, though all quotations from Scripture in it are from the Pāli canon<sup>7</sup>.

Writings belonging to the class of compendiums, and containing repetitions of passages from more ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions, are the *Anāgavaṃsa* or History of future Buddhas<sup>8</sup>, the *Saddhamma-Saṅgaha*, and the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa*, which is a translation of a Sinhalese original<sup>9</sup>. The same applies to the *Rasavāhinī*, a collection of 103 tales<sup>10</sup>, the *Dāthavaṃsa*<sup>11</sup> and the *Chakrasadhāvaṃsa*<sup>12</sup>. A much used compendium of ecclesiastical acts is titled *Kammavācī*<sup>13</sup>, whereas the chronicles *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Sāsana-vaṃsa* deserve a special notice on account of their being so highly important for the ecclesiastical history of Ceylon. Interesting notices on Pāli books and authors are contained in the *Gandhara-vaṃsa*<sup>14</sup>.

Among the poems in the praise of Buddha we have the *Pajjamadhu*<sup>15</sup>. Another religious poem of didactic character is the *Saddhammopāyana*<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *ER. MÜLLER* in the Pref. to his edition of the *Param-Dīp.* and the authorities quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *HARVEY*, M. of B., p. 512. For an abstract of contents by *CARPENTER*, see *JPTS* for 1890, and cp. *A. C. WARREN* in *Trans. 9th Congr. of Or. I.* 392.

<sup>3</sup> See *K. E. NEUBHANN*, „Des *Sārasaṅgha* erstes Kapitel“, text and translation (*Leipzig* 1891), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Kathāvatthupakkaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, ed. by *MINAYEF* *JPTS* of 1889.

<sup>5</sup> The Skr. form of *Milinda*, identified with *Menandros*, is *Milinda* in *Ksemendra's Avadāna-Kalpalatā* No. 57, vs. 15. Not unlikely *Mūra* in *Tāraṇatīha*, p. 25, is another form of the same name.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. by *TEJSCAKSA* (1880); transl. by *Prof. RAY* DAVIES in *SBE* XXXV (1890).

<sup>7</sup> The question has been discussed by *Prof. D. RAY* DAVIES in the preface to his translation. On two Chinese translations of the work see *F. SCHÜR* and *S. LÉVI* in *Trans. 9th Congr. of Or. I.* 518-529.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. by *MINAYEF* in *JPTS* of 1886.

<sup>9</sup> See *STRONG* in his ed. p. VIII, where the question of authorship and date is dealt with.

<sup>10</sup> The four first tales ed. by *SEMMET* in his *Anecdota Polica* (1845); others by *KONOW* in *DMG* of 1889, p. 297 ff.; the 7th Chapter by *PAULSEN* (1892).

<sup>11</sup> Ed. by *RAY* DAVIES in *JPTS* of 1884; by *M. C. SWAMY* (Lond. 1874).

<sup>12</sup> Ed. by *MINAYEF* in *JPTS* of 1885.

<sup>13</sup> See *CHILDRES* s. v.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. by *MINAYEF* in *JPTS* of 1886. Cp. the same, *Recherches* I, 257.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. by *GOONERATNE* in *JPTS* of 1887.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. by *MORRIS* in *JPTS* of 1887.

Works bearing on philological inquiry, grammars, dictionaries and grammatical papers, are here passed in silence<sup>1</sup>.

The literary activity of the Northern schools of Buddhists was not inferior to that of the Theravādins, but the ancient texts have only survived in translations or have come to us much altered, if they have not wholly perished. The oldest of the surviving commentaries and treatises are posterior to the Council under Kaniska, and all that Huen Tsang tells us<sup>2</sup> concerning commentaries on Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma being composed at that occasion is nothing else but an echo of the universal Buddhist tradition about the legendary first Council. From nearly that period may date the Vibhāṣā, a commentary on the Abhidharma; it is at any rate anterior to the Abhidharma-kośa by Vasubandhu, who flourished in the 6th century of our era and wrote many other exegetical works on Mahāyāna texts<sup>3</sup>. The Abhidharma-kośa was again commented by more than one author. To Asaṅga is ascribed a Yogāśāstra or Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra along with other works of a philosophical character<sup>4</sup>. Dignāga wrote a work on logic, the Pramāṇa-samuccaya. Similar works of a more or less polemical character are numerous, but as long as we cannot examine the contents their enumeration is of little use, the more so as the absurd legends about their authors must deter us from entering deeper into the subject. Some celebrities and their works we shall have occasion to notice in Part V, hereafter<sup>5</sup>.

The N. Buddhists have excelled in various kinds of what may be classed as devotional and edifying literature, so that a high rank must be assigned to not a few of their literary productions on account of the tasteful reproduction of subjects derived from the sacred lore or the lives of Saints. Works as the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa<sup>6</sup>, the Jātaka-mālā of Ārya Śūra, the Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra are noble compositions in every respect. The collection of legendary and semi-historical lore, known under the title of Divyavadāna, though less refined in language and style, is no less attractive. This valuable collection must have been reduced to its present state in a period after Kaniska, for the Dināra repeatedly occurs in it as the name of an Indian coin; yet the constituent parts of it are undoubtedly, for a large part, anterior to A. D. 100, abstraction made of the idiom, which may have been modified. The books of legends called Bhadrakalpavādāna and Avadāna-śataka are only known from extracts and translations<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A good bibliographical list, up to 1883, is found in FRANKFURTER'S Handbook XX, XXI. For a short description of some valuable works in Sinhalese, see HARDY, M. of B. p. 518. Several Pāli commentaries, treatises etc. are enumerated in Saddh. S. Ch. XI, and in Gandhavarāna.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. vol. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> WASSILIEFF, B. p. 210; 215; 222. Voy. I, p. 115; II p. 274. Tar. *ptim.* Cp. MAX MÜLLER, India 302; 308 f.

<sup>4</sup> Voy. I, 114; 118. It is strange that Huen Tsang ascribes upon him also an Abhidharma-kośa, perhaps identical with the Abhidharmasamuccaya in Tar. p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Further notices on renowned mediaeval scholastic writers are found in WASSILIEFF, B. p. 200—222. For the commentaries in the Tibetan collections, see CSOMA KÖRÖSI, As. Res. XX, p. 400 ff. — Dictionaries and similar works which will be referred to in the course of this Manual need not to be specified here.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. by COWELL. For the Chinese transl. see BRAC, SBE, vol. XIX. The first Ch. has been edited by S. LÉVI with a French transl. in JA of 1892. Cf. A. BARTH Bull. Rel. de l'Inde of 1894, p. 46 (separ. copy); LEHMANN, Some Notes on Asvaghosha's Buddhacarita in Wien. Zeitsch. VIII, 193.

<sup>7</sup> See S. d'OLDENBURG in Zapiski of 1894; and for the latter work see FÉER, Le livre des Cent Légendes in JA of 1879; his transl. in Ann. Mus. Guimet XVIII. A similar collection in Chinese are the "Contes et Apologues Indiens" (1860), from which STANGLAS JULIEN has published a specimen.

The published specimens of religious poetry bear the stamp of having been productions in the palmy days of mediæval Sanskrit literature. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva, a poem breathing a truly pious spirit, ranks foremost<sup>1</sup>. Almost as elegant in form, but wholly wanting in originality and warmth of feeling is the poem *Sisyaśekhā* by the grammarian Candrabhāṇi<sup>2</sup>. Hymns to Śākyasimha, Avalokiteśvara etc. are known only from Catalogues<sup>3</sup> or occasional quotations.

### 3. TIME OF RISE OF BUDDHISM. INDIAN THOUGHT AND IDEALS AT THAT TIME.

Owing to the unsettled state of Indian chronology we cannot with full certainty fix the absolute date of the Nirvāṇa<sup>4</sup>; yet we may confidently assert that the rise of Buddhism nearly coincides with the close of the Upaniṣad period. From the very tenets of Buddhism it is evident that the theories of the Vedānta had reached their full development, albeit not in the scholastic form of the *Brahma-Sūtras*. The practices of the Yoga, which though dogmatically no integral part of the Vedānta are not repudiated or disapproved by the Vedāntins, were scarcely less developed in the days of Buddha than later in the time of Patañjali, the author of the manual titled *Yoga-sūtra*. The doctrine of Karma, of metempsychosis, was already so deeply rooted in the popular conscience that Buddhism has retained it notwithstanding its standing in the most glaring conflict with Buddhist psychology, which denies the existence of soul altogether<sup>5</sup>.

The spiritual aspirations and the views of human life as entertained by the more serious Indians at the rise of Buddhism are, at first sight, extremely gloomy. What strikes us most, is the emphatically pronounced dread — *saṃsāra*, as the Buddhists like to call it — of the miseries of life, of old age and death; a dread intensified by the belief in perpetual rebirth, and consequently of repeated misery. All sects — barring the Sadducees of the epoch — agree in the persuasion that life is a burden, an unmixt evil. All accordingly strive to get liberated from worldly existence, from rebirth, from *Samsāra*. All are convinced that there are means to escape rebirth, that there is a path of salvation, that path consisting in conquering innate ignorance and in attaining the highest truth. But what is the highest truth? Here the views go asunder. Some, as the Vedāntins, affirm that truth in the highest sense<sup>6</sup> of the word is the essential unity of the highest soul, *paramātmā*, with the individual soul, *pratyakātmā* or *jīvātman*. Others, as

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by MINAYEV in *Zapiski* vol. XV, p. 156—225; partial French transl. by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN in *Museon* of 1892. Noteworthy as an indication of the influence of contemporary Hinduistic sentiments is such a passage as we read section 2, vs. 8: *pariprāṇam eva bhavānigrahaṇatīti, paramātmātmānam āyini bhāṣitā*. Cp. A. BARN in *Bull. Rel. de l'Inde*, (p. 20 *separ.* copy).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by MINAYEV with a valuable Introduction, in *Zapiski* IV, p. 29—53; Tibetan text edited by IWANOWSKI.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. No. 29—32 in the *Catal.* of COWELL and EDWARDS. Cp. BERNOUT, *l'art.* p. 557. Specimens of prayers also published by MINAYEV *Zapiski* II, 130. to Avalokiteśvara; 233, to Buddha; the latter ascribed to the king Harṣadeva.

<sup>4</sup> The knotty questions connected with Buddhist chronology will be dealt with hereafter, in Part V.

<sup>5</sup> *Digha-N.* I, p. 34; *Pugg.*-P. p. 38. More about this in the sequel.

<sup>6</sup> We avoid using the term "real truth", because reality for the majority of Indian sects is the reverse of truth in the highest sense, of *sat, rā īraṣ; dv;* it being only a relative, practical truth, and passing into a more illusory appearance, *māyā*.

the Sāṅkhya, proclaim that the soul is essentially different from matter, by which it is clogged, though it remains essentially unfiled and eternal<sup>1</sup>. The Buddhists, denying the existence of any thing like a soul, necessarily reject the notion of *paramātman*, and see the highest truth in the formula of the 4 *Ārya-satyāni*.

The Indian view of life, in the mystical and transcendental systems of the Vedānta and Buddhism, as well as in the rationalistic Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, is not seldom considered pessimistic. That qualification is true in a restricted sense, the Indians being pessimists only halfway. Just as they have no objection to the most tragic situations in their dramas, provided the final be a happy one, so they admit of all sorts of dreariness in human life, but at the same time they believe that it is possible, and that by a comparatively easy method, to get rid of the nuisance called existence and rebirth: they have only to follow some one of the infallible teachers of the path to salvation, of whom there was no lack in India. There, too, the rule holds good that the supply is proportionate to the demand.

## PART II. LIFE OF BUDDHA.

The history of Buddha, such as may be extracted from the canonical writings, is so marvellous that all who are standing outside the pale of Buddhism reject, more or less, its truthfulness. A few of the unbelievers have gone to such lengths as to see in that history the remoulding of an ancient myth. Others, less radical, are of opinion that it will be possible by stripping the tale of its miraculous and mythical elements to find out the historic nucleus. Those are apt to believe that by the aid of their critical manipulations they can produce an image which is extremely like the original. Without denying the worth of critical disquisitions or entering into the merits of the different reconstructions of the traditional history, we must limit ourselves in the following pages to a condensed account of the principal feats in the career of the Sublime Being whom all Buddhists acknowledge and revere as their Lord, Bhagavat, as the fountainhead of all Dharma; who, according to his own words, throughout myriads of ages had prepared himself, out of charity, before becoming a Buddha, to free sentient beings from the misery of existence. The history of *Maṭ Buddha* may be said to be true in an ideal sense. To a certain extent we agree with SPENCE HURDY<sup>2</sup> that "we must be content with the legend in its received version", though we would not subscribe to what he adds: "with all the accumulations it has gathered in successive ages", because these supposed accumulations are found in the sacred books, which are not separated from the epoch of Nirvāṇa by ages<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For more particulars, here out of place, concerning the speculations of the Upaniads and the Sāṅkhya, we refer the reader to the exposition in BARTIN'S *Religions of India*, p. 64—86. Cf. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda und der Buddhismus*, in *Deutsche Rundschau* of Nov. 1895; JACOB, *Der Ursprung des Buddhismus*, GGA, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *M. of B.* p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing like a connected biography of the Buddha in the canonical books. The *Lalitā-Vistara* erroneously considered as such, is in reality the narrative of

1. DESCENT FROM HEAVEN. CONCEPTION. BIRTH. CHILDHOOD. ADOLESCENCE<sup>1</sup>.

After having exercised the 30 *Paramitās* in anterior births the Bodhisattva destined to become an omniscient Buddha was born in the *Tuṣita* heaven. At the request of the deities, urging him to release mankind, he made, before giving his assent, 5 necessary examinations: 1. of the time of his appearance; 2. of the continent; 3. of the country; 4. of the race and family; 5. of the mother who should bear him, and the time when her life should be at an end<sup>2</sup>. He saw that the proper time had arrived; that all Buddhas are born in *Jambudvīpa*, in the country *Madhyadeśa*<sup>3</sup>; that the Buddhas are born either in the caste of Brahmins or of Kṣatriyas, the latter being predominant, he resolved upon becoming the son of *Suddhodana*, the king of the *Sākya* clan in *Kapilavastu*; finally he saw that the queen *Māhī-Māyā* should be his mother, and that she would die seven days after his birth<sup>4</sup>. He left *Nandanavāna*, *Indra's* paradise, and was conceived in the womb of *Māhī-Māyā*.

It was then, on the last day of the *Āṣūḍha* festival<sup>5</sup> in *Kapilavastu* that *Māyā* had a dream, in which she saw how the Bodhisattva who in the shape of a white elephant was wandering on the Gold Mountain approached her from the North, and entered — so it seemed — her womb. So the Bodhisattva was conceived<sup>6</sup>.

When the Queen the next morning told her dream to the King, he summoned Brahmins, interpreters of dreams, who declared that she had conceived a son destined to become either a universal Monarch or a Buddha.

During the time of gestation, four celestials guarded the Bodhisattva and his mother, to shield them from all harm. When the time of her confinement drew near, *Māyā* wished to visit her parents at *Devadāha* (*Devahraḍa*). On

the heroic career of the Bodhisattva from his descent on earth to the time when, after valiantly doing battle and vanquishing the Hord, he proclaims his Kingdom of Dharma. It has the character of an epic on the Bodhisattva. The same applies to the Chinese texts enumerated by BRAL, *SRE.* XIX, p. XVI ff. The genuine portion of *Aśvaghōṣa's* *Buddhacarita* is nearly coextensive with Lal. V. The complete biographies, known to us, are compilations of canonical accounts, but as compositions comparatively modern; thus the originally Pāli source of *Bigandet's* Life or legend of *Gandama*, the *Sinhalese Pijāvaliya*; the Tibetan Life by *Ratnacharmarāja*, transl. in extract by SCHIEFNER; *Rockman's* Life of the Buddha, derived from the *Dyut-Higyor* and *Dotan-Higyor*; the *Bhadra-kalpāraṇjita*.

<sup>1</sup> The following narrative is mainly based upon *Inte.* Jāt. I, p. 47 ff. (transl. by *ROSE DAVIES*, 1880; by *CHALMERS* 1895). For comparison's sake references are given to Lal. V; *Mhv.* I, 142 ff. and 197 ff.; II, 1 ff. *HARDY*, M. of B. p. 140 ff. *BIGANDET* I; p. 20 ff. *ROCKMILL*, L. of B. p. 14 ff. and other sources of information.

<sup>2</sup> It is the Bodhisattva himself who is the author of his whole in, and descent from the *Tuṣita* heaven; *Āṅg.* N. II, p. 139, and, according to *CHALMERS*, also *Acchāryasāhita-S.* No. 123 of *Majjh. N.* (*JRAS* of 1894, p. 386).

<sup>3</sup> The Buddhist *Madhyadeśa*, for the boundaries of which see *MV.* V, 13, 14, lies to the east of *Madhyadeśa* properly so called. It is, in reality, the *Frangia*. It is geographically impossible that in any period of Indian history Eastern Hindustan was looked upon as the central region of the Aryan Indians.

<sup>4</sup> The reason why she must die, is stated *Jāt. I*, p. 52; cp. *BIGANDET* I, p. 27, and *Mhv.* I, 199 — II, 3. A different reason adduced Lal. V, 112. A third account, the mythical base whereof is but slightly veiled, is found *Buddhac.* II, 65, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Lal. V, p. 65 the conception takes place at fullmoon day of *Vaiśākha*, the moon standing in *Puṣya* (*Tīṣṭa*); *Mhv.* gives the same asterism, omitting the name of the month.

<sup>6</sup> The conception is represented in the Bharhut sculpture PL. XXVIII, inscribed *Śārapatā stambh*. Cp. *MENAGE* Recherches I, 141.



her arriving at the Lumbini Grove, she felt a desire to enter the wood. Seeing a holy Sal tree, she stretched out her hand to take hold of a branch, which bent down of its own accord, and whilst she held it, she was delivered, in standing position and holding the branch. The child was received by the 4 Guardian gods of the quarters, and from their hands by men, but he, descending from their hands, stood erect on the ground, looked in all directions, and, after making 7 steps, exclaimed triumphantly: "I am the foremost of the world". — The child was brought to Kapilavasta.

On the same day with the Bodhisattva were born Yaśodharā, the mother of Rāhula<sup>1</sup>, Channa (Chanda), Kāludāyin (Kālodāyin, Udāyin), the horse Kanthaka (Kanthaka), and Ānanda<sup>2</sup>; at the same time sprung into existence the Bodhi tree, and the four treasure vases.

Northern sources name as born at the same time 4 kings who will play a part in the history of the Buddha, viz. Bimbisāra, Prasenajit, Pradyota, and Udayana<sup>3</sup>.

The birth of the Bodhisattva caused great rejoicing in the heaven of the Thirty-three gods. The Seer Kāśa (al. Asita) Devala, who happened to witness those rejoicings, and on enquiry was informed of the happy event, went to Suddhodana and expressed the wish to see the child. The infant was brought, but instead of worshiping Devala, put its feet on the matted hair of the Seer, who, rising from his seat bowed respectfully to the child, and the king, following his example, prostrated himself before his son. The Sage prophetically foresaw that the child one day would become a Buddha, but that himself would die before that time. This afflicted him and he wept. In order to secure to one of his relatives the blessing he was he deprived of, he went to his nephew, Nālaka<sup>4</sup>, and recommended him to become a recluse, as in the house of Suddhodana a son was born, who in 35 years would become a Buddha. Nālaka, accordingly, took up the life of a Śramaṇa, heard afterwards the Master, entered the Order, reached Arhatship, and finally extinction<sup>5</sup>.

Five days after his birth the Bodhisattva received the name of Siddhartha (Siddhārtha<sup>6</sup>). Among the Brahmins attending the ceremony there were eight renowned soothsayers, who were asked by the King to prognosticate the future destiny of his son. Seven of them were not able to make out whether the Prince would become a universal Monarch or a Buddha. Alone the eighth, young Koṇḍañña (Kaṇḍiyya) predicted that the latter alternative would infallibly prove true. This Koṇḍañña was the very same who afterwards as one belonging to the group of Five (Pañcavaggiya; in N. sources: Bhadravaggiya) took the vows.

The King, anxious to prevent his son from forsaking the world, asked what would move the Prince to flee from worldly enjoyments. The answer was: four ominous sights: an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a monk.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Humba, Bodhi-V. p. 20, and in N. sources Gopa, e. g. SCHREINER Tib. L. p. 236; 245. Lal. V. 155; cp. 270, where she is called Yaśovarā.

<sup>2</sup> The cousin of the Buddha and the son of Amṛtodana, according to N. sources; e. g. SCHREINER, Tib. L. p. 264; ROCKHILL, L. of B. p. 15. Curiously BRUNZGER I, 36 has the same statement, against the common S. tradition; see RHYDS DAVIES, B. p. 52. In Mhv. II, 157 Ānanda's mother is Nigā (virtually identical with Kisa Gotamī).

<sup>3</sup> SCHREINER, Tib. I. p. 255; ROCKHILL, L. of B. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> So, too, Mhv. II, p. 53, but Naradatta Lal. V. 135; 127.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Nālaka-S. in S. Nip. p. 128.

<sup>6</sup> In N. works also Sarvārthasiddha. The new born child is brought to the temple, where the idols — or as another account has it — the goddess Abhaya — bow down at his feet; Lal. V. chap. VIII; Mhv. II, 26; ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 17.

Śuddhodana forthwith took all possible precautions that none of those sights should meet the eye of Siddhārtha.

While the child grew up, surrounded by a brilliant retinue, under the special care of his aunt and stepmother, Prajāpati (the Matron) Gāutamī, it happened on a certain day that the King went out to the Ploughing festival, and the Prince was brought to the field by the nurses, who prepared for him a couch under the shade of a Jambutree. Attracted by the spectacle of the King handling the golden plough, the nurses left the Bodhisattva alone, who, seeing no one by him, rose up, seated himself crosslegged, and exercised the first degree of Meditation. Meanwhile the shadow of the trees had turned, but that of the Jambutree had not changed. As the nurses returning saw both miracles, they informed the King, who came in all haste and prostrated himself before his son, saying: "This is my second homage to thee, darling".

There is a tale in the North that the Prince, when he first went to school, perplexed the schoolmaster, Vāṣṭimītra, by his miraculous faculties<sup>1</sup>.

On reaching the age of 16 years Siddhārtha was married to Yaśodharā, the daughter of Suprabuddha<sup>2</sup>, his own cousin.

Many feats of prowess were achieved by the Bodhisattva, when a youth. He was an uncomparable archer, had herculean strength, and was an expert in all arts. In all contests he showed himself superior to all other Sākya, among whom Devadatta, and it was then that the seed of jealousy was planted in the proud heart of Devadatta<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. FOREBODINGS OF THE FUTURE. FLIGHT FROM KAPILAVASTU. RENUNCIATION OF THE WORLD.

Time passed on, and the Bodhisattva lived in luxury and all kinds of enjoyments<sup>4</sup>.

On a certain day the Prince ascended his chariot, and drove with his charioteer Channa (Skt. Chanda, Chandaka) to the pleasure gardens. The gods, knowing that the time was approaching when he would attain supreme Enlightenment, resolved to show him the 4 ominous sights. One among the gods assumed the form of an old, decrepit man. The Prince asked Channa: "What man is this?" "He is an old man", was the answer, "and every living being is doomed to become like him". With emotion in his mind, the Prince quickly returned home, and Śuddhodana on being informed of the reason of that speedy return, felt his anxiety increase, and doubled the guard surrounding the palace.

On another day the Prince saw, under the same circumstances, a sick man produced by the power of the gods. He put the same question, and on

<sup>1</sup> This undoubtedly apocryphal tale occurs Lal. V. Chap. X; cp. SCHIEFNER, Tib. L. p. 236. It is curious that in Mil. P. p. 236 Sabbamitta, a name synonymous with Vāṣṭimītra, is mentioned as a preceptor of the Prince.

<sup>2</sup> Of Mahānāma in Mhv. II, 48; of Dandapāl in Lal. V. p. 176. In S. texts Dandapāl is the brother of Suprabuddha; HARDY, M. of B. p. 137. The latter is the father of Māyā, in some N. sources, but in Mhv. I. 260 Māyā is the daughter of Subhaddi. Cp. EHRH. DAVIES, B. p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Lal. V. Chap. XII; Mhv. II, 74 ff.; Tib. L. p. 237; ROCKHILL, L. of B. p. 21. Cp. HARDY, M. of B. p. 153. D. is in Pāli texts the brother of Yaśodhara and a son to Suprabuddha; HARDY, M. of B. p. 231. His mother is Godhā, c. g. CV. VII, 3, but in Tib. L. p. 237 Devadatta, wife to Aspadana.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Lal. V. Chap. XIV; Buddhac. Chap. III, vs. 26 ff. and V, 16 f.

<sup>5</sup> The compiler of Intr. Jāṭ. I, 59 here refers to the Mahāpadāna.

hearing the answer, turned back in agitation. The King multiplied the means of enjoyments for his son, and again doubled the guards.

Sometime after the Bodhisattva, when driving to the gardens, met with a corpse. The answer, given by his charioteer moved him more than ever. Quickly he returned to the palace, and the King redoubled his precautions.

On a fourth occasion the Bodhisattva on his drive to the gardens saw, by the instrumentality of the gods, a monk. The decent deportment of the person made a deep impression on his mind, and when he heard that the man was an ascetic, he forthwith felt a strong inclination to renounce the world<sup>1</sup>. Now he drove on to the gardens, and there spent the day. After taking a bath he seated himself on the resting stone to be clothed.

At that moment Śakra felt that his throne became hot, a certain foreboding of danger to his dominion. Conceiving that the Bodhisattva at midnight of that very day would leave the palace and carry out the Great Renunciation, he ordered Viśvakarman to go to the gardens, and adorn Siddhārtha with heavenly attire.

Viśvakarman obeyed the order, came into the presence of the Prince, and disposed in a divine manner the folds of the latter's hairdress. Thus arrayed in all his splendour, the Bodhisattva ascended his chariot. Just at that time he received the message that Yaśodharā had been delivered of a son<sup>2</sup>, on hearing which he said: "Rāhula has been born, a bond has come into being." Hence the name of Rāhula was given to the child by order of Suddhodana.

When the Prince was entering the town with great magnificence, a young lady, Kisa Gotamī<sup>3</sup>, was contemplating from the upper storey of her palace the entrance of the Bodhisattva, and exclaimed:

Happy, indeed, is the mother,  
Happy, indeed, is the father,  
Happy, indeed, is the wife,  
Who possesses such a husband!

On hearing those words, the Bodhisattva became meditative, and as his mind was already estranged from evil passions, he perceived that real happiness can only be gained by quenching the fire of love, hatred and delusion. "She has given me a good lesson", quoth he, "I will search for the peace of Nirvāṇa<sup>4</sup>, and this very day leave my family and renounce the world." Then detaching from his neck a collar of great value, he sent it to Kisa Gotamī as a token of gratitude.

<sup>1</sup> Jāt. I, p. 59 adds the remark: "The preachers of the Dīgha-N. say that he saw all the 4 signs on the same day". This has nothing to do, as ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 22 supposes, with the Prince riding on horseback to the fields and seeing some poor ploughing labourers; this scene falls between the third and the forth ominous sight in Buddhac. V, in ROCKHILL's source afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> In Mhv. II, 155, and Tib. L. p. 240 (cp. Bhadrak. II) it is not the birth, but the conception which took place in the night of the Prince's flight. No date is given Buddhac. II, ca. 46, where Rāhula is marked by the epithet *Ālambitaśarīraka*. Cp. the fact that in Tib. L. p. 243 Rāhula's birth coincides with the defeat of Māra at the time of a lunar eclipse on fullmoon day in Vāsānta. The same moment gave birth to Ananda, the son of Amṛtodana. In Bhadrak. IX, Rāhula is born six years after his conception, as in Tib. I.

<sup>3</sup> Her story is told Far. Dhp. 193 ff.; Therīg. 215-225. Cp. Dhp. p. 118; 289; 387; Aṅg. N. I, 14, 5. In Mhv. II, 157 and Bhadrak. XXXV, she is called Mgī, the mother of Ananda; in a confused Tibetan account something like Mīgajī, with ROCKHILL, I. of B. p. 23; not named Buddhac. V, 24.

<sup>4</sup> The term rendered by "happy" in the stanza, is *siddha*, and Nirvāṇa is synonymous with *nibbāna* (*nirvāṇa*). See CHILDERS s. iv.

When Siddhārtha, after retiring to his apartments, lay reclined on his couch, a crowd of fair damsels began to sing, play and dance to divert him, but he took no pleasure in the spectacle and fell asleep. The damsels, disappointed, lay down to sleep. A short time after the Prince awoke and, looking around, saw the loathsome appearance of the sleeping women<sup>1</sup>. He felt more and more disgusted, and the desire to accomplish the Great Renunciation (*Abhiniskramana*) arose in him with double force. He rose, called his charioteer, and gave order to saddle his horse<sup>2</sup>.

While Channa was saddling the courser *Kanthaka*, the Bodhisattva went to the room of Rāhula's mother. He opened the door and saw Yasodharā sleeping, with one of her hands upon the head of the child. Fearing that her awakening would be an obstacle to his going away, he silently left the palace<sup>3</sup>. As soon as he came out, he went to his gigantic white steed, bestrode it, and ordered Channa to take hold of its tail<sup>4</sup>. The city gate was opened by the power of the guardian deity, and so the Bodhisattva escaped.

At that moment Māra the Fiend appeared in the air, with the intention to prevent the Bodhisattva to become a Buddha, by promising him in a week the dignity of a universal Monarch. But the Prince, not aiming at worldly sovereignty, remained deaf to the Tempter, who, baffled in his design, maliciously followed him, as a shadow the body, waiting for an opportunity<sup>5</sup>.

It was on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha<sup>6</sup> when the Prince left the city. At a certain distance he turned the face, at the spot where would be erected the shrine of "*Kanthaka's Return*"<sup>7</sup>. His progress through the country went on in great pomp and glory, a host of heavenly beings attending him with lighted torches, and the sky being replete with flowers from Indra's heaven "as with the drops of rain at the beginning of the rains"<sup>8</sup>.

After going with such a splendid retinue 30 *Yojanas* the Prince arrived at the river *Anomā*<sup>9</sup>. He sprang with his steed over the river, lighted, and said to Channa: "Here take my ornaments, and return with *Kanthaka*. I am going to become an ascetic".

Thereupon the Bodhisattva thought: "These long locks of mine are unbecoming a Śramaṇa". He took his sword, cut off his hair, and flung it together with the crest jewel towards the sky, saying: "If I am destined to become a Buddha, let it stand in the air; if not, let it come down on the ground!" The tuft of hair with the jewel went up and remained suspended in the sky, where Śakra received it in a golden casket, to place it in the Shrine of the Crest Jewel (*Cūṣmāgṛi*) in the Heaven of the 33 gods<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller description see Jāt. I, p. 61 and Lal. V., p. 251, with the misogynic effusion p. 252. Cp. Buddhac. V, 43 ff. Mhv. II, 159.

<sup>2</sup> N. writings insert an episode describing how the Prince as a dutiful son, before departing, asks his father's leave: Lal. V., Chap. XV; Mhv. II, 141; cp. Buddhac. V, 46, 27—38. The episode contains powerful passages, but is hardly appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> Intr. Jāt. I, p. 62 adds the notice that according to a Jāt. commentary "Rāhula was at that time seven days old", but rejects that view as not being found in other commentaries. Quite different again several N. traditions; see note above p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> The horse measured 18 cubits from the neck to the tail.

<sup>5</sup> Lal. V, p. 257 it is not Māra, but Chandaḥ who tries to detain the Prince from his design. Cp. Mhv. II, 160, and again 165. Cp. WINDISCH *Māra* and B. p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. the date of his conception.

<sup>7</sup> *Kanthaka's return*. This shrine not mentioned Lal. V. 277, but another erected on the spot where Chandaḥ took leave, (*Chandakavartana*).

<sup>8</sup> In Madhyadeśa the rains set in about the end of June.

<sup>9</sup> Slightly different Mhv. II, 166, where the place *Anomā* is apparently the same as *Asuppiya* in the country of the Mallas. Cp. Lal. V. p. 277.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the Cūṣya in Lal. V. p. 278 is *Cūṣapradīrakaya*. The relic is Indo-Aryan Research. III. 8.

Again the Prince thought: "These fine Benares clothes do not befit a Śramaṇa". At that moment the Mahābrahṃa angel Ghaṭikāra, who in the days of yore had been the friend of the Bodhisattva, when the latter was Gyotipāla<sup>1</sup>, provided him with the right requisites of a Śramaṇa, the 3 robes etc. The Bodhisattva put on his new dress, and bade Channa to go back with the salutations to his parents. The charioteer obeyed, but the horse Kanthaka, unable to bear his grief, died of a broken heart. After his death he was reborn as a deity of the same name in heaven<sup>2</sup>.

### 3. WANDERING LIFE. ASCETISM. CONTEST WITH MĀRA. TRIUMPH. ATTAINMENT OF BUDDHAHOOD.

The Bodhisattva having thus entered upon the life of a recluse spent a week in the mango grove of Anupiya. Thence he travelled in one day to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, where he begged his food. At this sight the inhabitants were struck with wonder, not knowing whether he was a deity, a mortal, or any other being. The King, Seniya (Srenya, Srenika) Bimbisāra, observing the Great Man (*Mahāpuruṣa*) from his palace tower, ordered his servants to go and ascertain the nature of the stranger. The men found the Bodhisattva, who after having got sufficient food had left the city, at the foot of the Pāṇḍava Rock, eating, not without an effort, his coarse meal. The messengers returned, and related all to the King, who quickly went to the place where the Great Man was sitting, and offered him his whole kingdom, but the latter rejected that generous offer, saying that he had abandoned all in the hope of attaining supreme Enlightenment, whereupon Bimbisāra asked the favour that his kingdom should first of all be visited by the Buddha<sup>3</sup>.

On leaving the King, the Bodhisattva went forward, and in due course came to Ājāra Kālāma and Uddaka, son of Rāma, two renowned teachers of philosophy<sup>4</sup>. He learned from them the successive degrees of ecstatic meditation (*samāpatti*), but soon discovering that it was not the way to Enlightenment, he resolved to apply himself to the Great Effort (*Mahāpaddhāna*)<sup>5</sup>. To effect his purpose, he went to Uruvelā (Uruvilvā). Now it came to pass that the Pañcavaggiyas, i. e. the 5 mendicants, Koṇḍañña and the rest, met with him, and resolved to stay with him, persuaded as they were that ere long he would become a Buddha.

After six years of exertion the Bodhisattva resolved to practise the most profound meditation (*Āryama*) and to perform the most rigid penance. By

figured as placed in the Suddhama Devasabha, and called *Bhagavato Cūḍamāta* II. XVI of Bharhut; cp. CONNINGHAM p. 189 of his text.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the two friends, see Mhv. I, 319 ff. and cp. Mil. P. p. 221 ff. Dhp. p. 349. — In Mhv. II, 195; Lal. V. 276; Buddhac. VI, va. 60, the B. changes his dress with the *Āṇḍapa* of a hunter or a Devaputra who had assumed the shape of a hunter.

<sup>2</sup> The death and deification of the steed is more amply told in Mhv. II, 189 ff. According to this source, and Lal. V, p. 282 K. died after his having returned to Kapilavastu. Cp. about his blissful state in heaven Vismaya-V. p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> A fuller account of this story is found S-Nip. p. 71 and commentary. The poetical version Lal. V. 277 ff. is much longer.

<sup>4</sup> About the two teachers, see the Buddha's own account, Majjh. N. I, p. 80 ff. Cp. Lal. V. 319 ff. — In the N. books the course of events is somewhat different; see Lal. V. 294; Mhv. II, 195; Buddhac. N—XII; the N. names of the teachers are Aśoka Kālāma, and Uddaka (mistakenly Radeka) Rāmaputra.

<sup>5</sup> The system is set forth in the Mahāpaddhāna-S. in Digh. N.; cp. Ang. N. II, p. 16, and CHILDERS s. v. *pañcāgany*.

carrying his fasting to excess, he became as thin as a skeleton, and at last so weak that one day he fainted and fell down<sup>1</sup>. Some gods said: "The Śramaṇa Gautama<sup>2</sup> is dead; others, however, remarked: 'Such is the state of Arhats'". And, indeed, not long afterwards he recovered from his swoon<sup>3</sup>.

As he perceived that mortification was not the way to Enlightenment, he resumed his former diet, which caused the Five friars to loose faith in him. Hence they left him, and went to Rṣipatana (Isipatana) in the Deer-park near Benares.

At that time there lived in Uruvelā a girl named Sujātā, the Chiefair's daughter<sup>4</sup>. On the fullmoon day of Vaiśākha she rose early to make an offering to a holy tree and milked the cows. Seeing many miracles, she joyfully sent her servant girl Pūrṇā (Pūṇṇā) to clear the place under the holy tree.

Now in the latter part of the previous night the Bodhisattva had seen 5 dreams, by which he got the certainty that in the course of that day he would become Buddha. At daybreak he went in quest of his food and sat down at the foot of the holy tree, lighting up the East with his radiance. Pūrṇā saw him shining, the whole tree goldcoloured by the rays issuing from his body. She ran back to her mistress, who, after pouring milk-rice in a golden vessel, went to the tree, and presented the golden vessel to the Great Man. And at that moment disappeared the earthen pot given him by Ghaṭikāra. He went with the golden vessel to the bank of the river Nairāṇjanā (P. Neraṇjarā), to a place called Well-established (Sapuniṭṭhita), where innumerable Bodhisattvas had bathed on the day of their awaking to Enlightenment. After taking a bath he dressed himself in the garb of an Arhat worn by numberless Buddhas, and, sitting down Eastward, ate all his food, divided into 49 portions, as he would have no other nourishment during the next 7 weeks. Having finished his meal, he flung the golden vessel into the stream with the following asseveration: "If on this day I am to become a Buddha, let this vessel ascend the stream; if not, let it go down". And, lo, it went up to a great distance, when it sunk down to the abode of the Nāgaking Kāla. On striking against the vessels of the three last Buddhas, it produced a sound, by which Kāla became aware of the rise of a new Buddha<sup>5</sup>.

In the evening the Great Man marched toward the tree of Enlightenment. He met on his march with a grasscutter, Svastika (Sothiya), who offered him 8 bundles of grass. He accepted the offering, and, after taking a survey of the quarters, he went to the East, the seat of all Buddhas, facing the West. There he scattered the handful of grass on the ground, where a seat

<sup>1</sup> Buddha himself describes his severe penance and subsequent exhaustion in Majjh. N. I., p. 80; p. 245 ff. Cp. Lal. V., 319 ff.; SĀMAJ. Soc. Ep. 3 (statue) — The Dhyana alluded to is termed *appāṇāna* Majjh. N. I. c.; *appāṇāna* Lal. V. 312; 321; Mhv. II, 123.

<sup>2</sup> This is the first time the B. is so termed in Jāt. Intr., whereas in Lal. V. he is addressed by that name by Ānanda. As to the origin of the name, see MURSON, Intr. p. 155. The Buddha is also known as an Angirasa, the Gautamas being a subdivision of the Angirases. One of his other appellations is Adhiyasaṁbha, the Sakyas forming a *gotra* of the great tribe of Sun-descendants. Cp. S. Nip. p. 73; *Adhiṣṭa mma gottena, Sakkiya nama jātiya*.

<sup>3</sup> Another tradition describes the grief of Māyā on hearing the (false) report of her son's death; Lal. V. 314 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Her father's title is *uruvālā, uruvāḍā*, and otherwise *gopādhīpa* or *grāmika* (i. e. village head) in Jāt. Mhv., Lal. V., Buddhac. In this last non canonical source her name is Nandabala XII, 106, but Sudata XVII, 9. The name Bala also occurs Lal. V. 311. The story of her offering, the subsequent march of the B., and his victory is twice told, Mhv. II, 264 ff. and 299 ff. Cp. Lal. V. Chaps. XVIII—XXI; Buddhac. p. 196 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Mhv. II, 295; twice repeated, with variations, p. 307 and p. 400.



of 14 cubits was formed. Then he uttered the following asseveration: "Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away, let my life blood dry up, I will not leave this seat before attaining perfect Enlightenment".

It was at that moment that Māra<sup>2</sup> thinking: "Prince Siddhārtha wishes to escape from my dominion", summoned his hosts to do battle. Himself mounted on the elephant Mountain-girdled (Girimekhala) led the attack, which was so dreadful that the gods attending the Bodhisattva were seized with terror and fled. The Great Man alone remained undaunted, putting his trust in the Pāramitās. Thereupon Māra caused violent winds to blow, followed by a rain of rocks, weapons, glowing ashes, charcoal. All in vain<sup>3</sup>.

Seeing all his attempts baffled, the Fiend approached the Great Man, and summoned him to vacate his seat. "Māra!" was the reply, "you have not devoted your life to benefit the world, to attain wisdom. This seat does not belong to you". Enraged at these words, Māra cast his discus weapon at the Great Man, but it became a garland of flowers. Again the host of Māra renewed the attack, but the rocks they hurled down at him, were turned into nosegays. Sure of his triumph, the Bodhisattva exclaimed: "The seat belongs to me", and turning to the Fiend, he defied him to adduce a witness for his merits. Māra pointed to his followers, who with a roar testified to their master's liberality. In his turn the Fiend asked: "As to you, Siddhārtha, who is witness to your having bestowed alms?" Then the Bodhisattva called up the Earth to be his witness, and she replied with such a roaring voice that the hosts of Māra were discomfited, and the elephant Girimekhala fell down on his knees to pay homage to the Great Man. The army of the enemy fled in all directions, whereas the gods exultingly shouted: "Māra is defeated! The Prince Siddhārtha has prevailed!" The Nāgas and other celestial beings approached the seat of Enlightenment, chanting songs of victory.

The sun was still above the horizon when the Great Man defeated the army of his foe<sup>4</sup>. In the first watch of the night he arrived at the knowledge of his former states of existence (*pūrvanivāsa*, *pubbenivāsa*); in the second watch he acquired the heavenly eye (*dīghanetras*, *dībbacakkhu*); in the 3d the knowledge of the series of causes and effects<sup>5</sup>.

While he was mentally revolving the 12 causes (Nidānas) in direct order and in reverse order<sup>6</sup>, the whole universe shook 12 times to its foundation, and the most extraordinary phaenomena were seen, even as at his birth.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the stanza in Lal. V. p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Māra pāpimā*, the usual name of the Fiend in P., originally, it appears, synonymous with the *Śrīyavā pāpimā* in Vaidic texts, has with the Buddhists become the incarnation of Evil. His connection with Death is further exemplified by his being identified with *Maccarāja*, in Therag. vii, 411. For *pāpimā* Mhv. has *pāpimāu*, along with *pāpīyā* (e. g. II, 264; 268); the latter form being used in Lal. V. A well-known synonymous term both in S. and in N. texts is *Namuci*. His identification with *Sumera* is founded upon his being the ruler of the highest Kāmaloka; hence he is termed *Kamāvarā*, Lal. V. p. 427; *Adimadhātava Mārāḥ pāpīyān adhipātī idhara vātaparā*, p. 375. Cp. Buddhac. XIII, vs. 2. See also Winternitz *Māra* and B. p. 184 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Lal. V. p. 404 Māra, after his first unsuccessful attack, sends his daughters to tempt the B. He repeats his attempt in a later period, in which the P. texts place it, as we shall see below. Other transpositions occur Mhv. II, 322 and Buddhac. XIII, vs. 2 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In Mhv. II, 417 the army is defeated at sunrise.

<sup>5</sup> *Pratipassanāpāda*, P. *paṭisaṃsappāda*; the system, as developed MV, I, 1; Lal. V. Chap. XXII; Mhv. II, 283 and 346, will be expounded in Part III below. — Bencouet's source adds the conception of the 4 Āryasatyāni; likewise Lal. V. 447; Mhv. II, 345. The 4 truths or axioms are fully set forth Majjh. N. I, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. MV. I, 1; for the stanzas there cp. also Mhv. II, 88; 416 ff.

Amid these wonders the Bodhisattva attained Omniscience, and he uttered the joyful song<sup>1</sup> common to all Buddhas.

4. THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS OF BUDDHAHOOD. PREACHING OF THE LAW AND CONVERSION OF THE 5 MENDICANT FRIARS. OTHER CONVERTS. TEMPTATION BY MĀRA. THE THREE KĀŚYAPAS. SERMON ON BURNING. MEETING WITH BĪMBISĀRA. CONVERSION OF ŚĀRIPUTRA AND MAUDGALYĀYANA.

After reaching perfect Enlightenment, the Lord Buddha remained sitting on the same seat, realizing the bliss of Deliverance, and thinking of his generous acts in his previous existence as Viśvantara (Vessantara<sup>2</sup>). Some deities, seeing that he did not leave his seat, felt a doubt whether he had fulfilled his daytask, but the Master, knowing their thoughts, rose into the air, performed a magical<sup>3</sup> feat, and thus dispelled their misgivings. Thereupon he took his stand a little to the North-East, looking during a week with unblenching eyes at the spot which became the "Shrine of the Unblenching one". Between that spot and his seat he shaped a walk, stretching from East to West, which he spent a week in walking to and fro. That walk became known as the "Jewel shrine of the Walk". In the fourth week the gods made to the Northwest a Jewellhouse. There he spent a week, going through the whole Abhidharma-Piṭaka.

After having spent four weeks near the Bodhi tree, he went in the fifth week to the Goatherd's Banyan tree, and sat there scrutinizing the Dharma<sup>4</sup>. It was at that time that Māra, who always followed the Master to discover a flaw sat down overcome with sorrow after his defeat. His three daughters, Desire, Pining and Lust<sup>5</sup>, on hearing the reason of his affliction, promised that by their charms they would overcome the Saint. So they approached the Lord and tried to seduce him, but he paid not the slightest attention to them. At last he said: "Go away! Suchlike endeavours may have success with men who have not subdued the passions, but the Tathāgata has done away with affection, hate and illusion", and he recited two stanzas (Dhp. vs. 179, 180). Baffled in their attempts the daughters returned to their father.

The Lord, after spending there a week, went to Mucalinda<sup>6</sup>. There he

<sup>1</sup> See Intr. Jm. I, p. 76; the dogmatic interpretation in the comment on Dhp. vs. 155 f. An explanation of the "train of thought" is found in Prof. RHYS DAVIES, B. 196. 100—101. — The Udān in Mbv. II, 285 contains in plainer words the same idea.

<sup>2</sup> His last birth but one. The story of V. is the most favourite of all the Jātakas and forms the subject of dramatic performances in Burma and Tibet; WADDILL, *Buddh. of Tib.* 540—551. Cp. HARTV. M. of B. 116 ff. FA HIAN'S REC. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Yamada-pāṭhaṅga*, *Yapaṅga*, a term which has given rise to various remarks, in, if we are not mistaken, a conundrum, a veiled expression for *yaga* in the sense of "jugglery, magic"; *yamada*, double, being nearly synonymous with *yaga*, conjuration, and wholly with *yaga*, a couplet.

<sup>4</sup> The account of the Lord's stations in MV I, 1—5 is different: viz. 1. Bodhi tree; 2. The Goatherd's Banyan tree; 3. Mucalinda; 4. Rājāyatana tree; 5. Goatherd's Banyan tree; cp. Majjh. N. I, p. 167. In Lal. V. 438 ff. the sequel is: 1. Bodhi terrace (Bodhi-maṇḍa); 2. the Long Walk, extending over the whole universe; 3. E. looks with unblenching eyes to the Bodhimāṇḍa; 4. He goes the Short Walk from the Eastern to the Western Ocean; 5. Mucalinda; 6. the Goatherd's Banyan tree; 7. Turayana tree.

<sup>5</sup> Their names: in P. are: Taṭhā, Aratī, Raga; see more about them S. Nip. p. 157; Suv. N. I, p. 124; Aṅg. N. I, 3. In Lal. V. 490 they occur as Tṛṣṇā, Aratī, Rati; in Buddhac. XIII, 3 Tṛṣ, Prīti, Rati. The episod is wanting in MV.

<sup>6</sup> Lal. V. 491: Mucalinda. It occurs as the name of a mountain, a lake, a Naga, and a tree.

was shielded during a rainshower by the coils and hoods of the Nāga king. After a week he went to the Rājāyatana tree<sup>1</sup>, where he remained another week.

On the last day of the seven weeks, whilst the Lord was sitting at the foot of the Rājāyatana, it came to pass that two merchants, Tapussa and Bhalluka<sup>2</sup>, were travelling from Utkala (Orissa) to Madhyadeśa, with goo carts. A deity, who had been a bloodrelation of those merchants, stopped their carts, and exhorted them to offer cakes of barley and honey to the Lord. The merchants followed the advice, went to the presence of the Buddha, and said: "O Lord! out of mercy to us accept this food!"<sup>3</sup> The Tathāgata had no vessel to receive those offerings, but the Guardian deities of the four quarters forthwith came from heaven, and presented him each with a bowl of sapphire. He refused. Then they offered him four other bowls of bean-coloured stone, which he accepted, putting the four bowls one in the other with the word of command: "Let them become one". He now took the food and ate it.

When the Lord had finished his meal, the merchants, prostrating themselves, made profession of faith with the words: "We take refuge in the Buddha and in the Law; take us, o Lord, from hence forward lifelong as lay devotees (Upāsaka)!" The two merchants thus became the first lay devotees, by pronouncing only two articles of faith<sup>4</sup>, since at that time the Congregation (Saṅgha) did not yet exist. After their profession of faith they besought the Master to bestow upon them something which in the sequel they might worship. And he gave them a few hairs of his head. These were afterwards deposited by the merchants as relics in a shrine, which they erected in their native city<sup>5</sup>.

Then the Tathāgata rose up and returned to the Goatherd's Banyan tree. The thought arose in him that the Law he had mastered was too profound and subtle to be preached to others. But Brahma Sahampati, knowing that the world would be lost, if the Buddha continued unwilling to reveal the Law, repaired to the place where the Lord was sitting and urged him to show the way of salvation in so eloquent words that finally his request was granted<sup>6</sup>.

The Buddha now pondered in his mind to whom he should first reveal the Law. He thought of Ālāra, but by the suggestion of a deity he became aware that his former teacher had died a week ago. Then he thought of Udraka, but on an intimation by a deity he came to the conclusion that Udraka had died last night<sup>7</sup>. Now his thoughts turned to the 5 mendicant

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to Skr. *rājāyatana*. *Tāhāyana* of Lal. V. may be a corruption of a supposed Prākṛit *rājāyana*.

<sup>2</sup> Lal. V. has Tapussa and, like MV., Bhallika, two brothers, as with BIGANONI I. 108. *Tapussa* in Intr. Jāt. is certainly wrong. The event takes place earlier in MV. I. 4, but equally near the Rājāyatana. On the reduction of the period in Mhā. see MURRAY Recherches I. 158.

<sup>3</sup> The formula MV. I. 4 is: "that it may be to our weal and happiness for long time!" Lal. V. 495 has *anārambhaṃ apāpāra*, exactly as Jāt. Intr.

<sup>4</sup> They became *upāsakā* *dharmadātā*.

<sup>5</sup> About the conflicting claims of the Burmese and the Sinhalese to the possession of these relics see Prof. RAYN DAVIES, *Birth stories* p. 110, note. It may be added that a town in Bactria raised the same claim; Voy. I. 66. Cf. MURRAY Recherches I. 161.

<sup>6</sup> More amply and poetically told MV. I. 5; Magh. N. I. 167 ff. Supp. N. I. 136 ff. Lal. V. 514 ff. The agreement between the S. and the N. tradition is here very close. We only remark that for P. Brahma Sahampati Lal. V. has usually Śāhī Mahābrahma; yet Sahampati occurs e. g. p. 69; 342 (cp. Vimp. 5 163) and Sahapati p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. for this part of the narrative and the sequel Lal. V. 525 ff. Buddhac. XV. 85 ff. ROCKHILL, L. of B. p. 37 ff.

frars, who had for a while so faithfully attended him. Discovering in his mind that they were living in the Deerpark near Benares, he took the resolution to go thither and inaugurate there the dominion of the Law<sup>1</sup>. He lingered a few days more near the Bodhi tree, and departed on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha<sup>2</sup>.

On his way he met the Ājivaka monk Upaka, who struck with his prepossessing exterior, asked him to what order of monks he belonged, and who was his master. Whereupon the Lord, proclaiming his own omniscience and superiority, declared his intention to proceed to Benares to inaugurate the dominion of the Law, and to beat the drum of Immortality (Nirvāṇa) in this world that is groping in darkness<sup>3</sup>.

On the evening the Master arrived at the Deerpark<sup>4</sup>. When the Five monks saw him from afar, they said one to another: "Brethren<sup>5</sup>, here comes the Śramaṇa Gautama, who has returned to a good life and forsaken all earnest striving. We will not receive him with marks of reverence, but as he is of a good family he deserves the honour of a seat<sup>6</sup>. Such was their agreement, but when the Lord came nearer, they involuntarily rose and respectfully welcomed him. Not knowing that he had become a Buddha, they addressed him by his name or by "Reverend". But the Lord said: "Do not, o monks, address me thus; I am a Tathāgata. I will preach you the Law by following which you will attain, even in this life, at the highest degree of holiness<sup>7</sup>".

After persuading them to be attentive, the Master preached his first discourse, in which he set forth that one who renounces the world should shun two extremes: the pursuit of worldly pleasures, and the practice of useless austerities<sup>8</sup>; that it is the middle course, discovered by the Tathāgata, which leads to wisdom and Nirvāṇa. That middle course, as he proceeded to unfold, is the eightfold Path<sup>9</sup>. Further he gave an exposition of the 4. Axioms or Certainities (Āryasatyāni): suffering, the cause of suffering, the suppression of suffering, the path leading to that suppression. During that exposition Koṇḍañña (Kaundinya) came to true insight and understood<sup>10</sup> that whatever has an origin is destined to have an end. Thereby he acquired the fruit of

<sup>1</sup> And: "begin to turn the wheel of the Law". Both translations of *dharma-cakram pravartayāma* are admissible. Yet it must be noticed that the Buddhists usually take the expression in a symbolical sense, and so they did anciently, as is proved by the representations of the wheel at Bharhut, Pl. XIII and XXXI. Cp. Ep. Ind. II, 312. A third meaning results from such epithets as *āśāḍhaśāḍha* — an allusion to the 12 Nidānas and perhaps to the 12 Āṅgas — and *āśāḍha*, *paṇḍita*; viz. that of "the whole circle of the Law". In such a connection, *dharma-cakram variegati* or *pravartayati* may be rendered with "unfolding the whole of the Dharma".

<sup>2</sup> The date of his conception and of his entering upon a wandering life. The "few days" must be a week, for it is eight weeks between full moon day of Vaiśākha to full moon in Āṣāḍha.

<sup>3</sup> See the Gāthās MV I, 6; Majjh. N. I, p. 169; Lal. V, 346. — Concerning Upaka cp. Burdmore Intr. 389; FERN, *Itodes Buddhiques* pp. 15—17.

<sup>4</sup> The legend about the origin of the name in Mhv. I, 359 ff. presupposes the Pāli form *Upaka*, not the Skr. *Upa*.

<sup>5</sup> *Āvuso*, properly "Sir, Reverend". It is not exactly indeclinable, as CHILDERS has it, but the vocative case, also used in addressing a company, of *āvuso* (*āvuso*); see e. g. S. Vibh. IV, 8, 8. The form of the case agrees with Vaidika-vas, as in *āśāḍha*, *āśāḍha*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. REAL SBE, XIX, 174.

<sup>7</sup> *Āryāṅga* (*āryāṅga*) *mārga*, *āryāṅga* *mārga*, viz. right views, i. thoughts, i. speech, i. actions, i. living, i. exertion, i. recollection, i. meditation. MV. I, 6, 18; Dgh. N I, p. 157; Majjh. N. I, p. 47 ff.; Saṃy. N. II, p. 106; Lal. V, 340 ff. Kāraṇ. V, 46. Cp. Vyu. § 44; Dharma. S. L.

<sup>8</sup> Hence his surname *Āhita* or *Āhita-Koṇḍañña*, in ungrammatical Skr. *Āhita-Kaundinya*. Cp. Jeta-vana instead of Jeti-vana. A correction has *Āhita* K. Vyu. § 47.

the first stage on the path to Nirvāṇa<sup>1</sup>, and at the time he received ordination. The next day Vappa (Vāṣpa) was converted, and on the three following days Bhaddiya (Bhadrika), Mahānāman and Assaji (Aśvajit) successively<sup>2</sup>. On the fifth day the Master preached to all of them the discourse "On the insanity of all physical and mental phenomena" (*Anattalakkhaṇa-Suttaṇṭa*), in consequence whereof the 5 monks became in their minds freed from all impurity. Thus there were at that time six Arhats.

In those days there was in Benares a young man, named Yaśas (P. Yasa), a wealthy banker's son. Once it happened that he saw the same spectacle of sleeping female musicians as Siddhārtha had witnessed in the night of his flight. Disgusted, he fled the house and directed his steps to the Deerpark. There the Lord saw him, and perceiving his predisposition to become a saint, he called him, established him in the fruition of the first stage on the path to Nirvāṇa, and on the next day in Arhatship<sup>3</sup>.

Soon afterwards the father of Yaśas became a convert as lay devotee. He was the first Upāsaka making profession of faith by taking refuge in the threefold formula (*tevrika*). The mother of Yaśas and his wife became likewise lay devotees; not long after 54 friends of Yaśas took orders, and attained to Arhatship, so that there were then 61 Arhats all in all.

After the rainy season and its solemn close (*pravarāṇa*, *paravarāṇa*), the Master sent out the 60 in different directions with the words: "Go forth, O monks, wandering and preaching". He himself went to Uruvelā. On his way thither he overcame the temptations of Māra<sup>4</sup> and converted the Bhaddaraggiyas<sup>5</sup>.

At Uruvelā there lived three brothers, hermits with matted hair and fireworshippers (Jaṭilas), known by the name of Uruvela-Kassapa (Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa), Nadi-K., and Gayā-K. By performing many miracles<sup>6</sup>, the Tathāgata converted the three brothers, with their disciples. Accompanied by all of them, he went to the hill of Gayāsirsa (P. Gayāsira), and delivered there his sermon on Burning (Āditta-pariyāya), in consequence of which all his hearers were established in Arhatship<sup>7</sup>.

After staying for some time near Gayāsirsa, the Master wandered with his numerous followers, wending his way to the Supatigga Shrine in the Jaṭṭhivana (Yaṣṭivana<sup>8</sup>) near Rājagṛha, in order to redeem the promise he had made to Bimbisāra.

When the King heard that the Buddha had arrived, he hastened with a great number of Brahman householders to the Yaṣṭivana, and prostrated himself before the feet of the Lord — those feet, marked by the figure of a wheel and emitting a flood of light. As the Brahmins stood in doubt whether

<sup>1</sup> Sotāpattiphala; see CHILDERS s. vv. *magga* and *saṁgati*; cp. BIGANDRY I, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> The formula of ordination is: "Come, O monks! well proclaimed is the Law, lead a holy life that an end may be put to suffering!"

<sup>3</sup> The scene of the story of Yaśas is laid in Kusinara SBE. XIX, 180, but BEAL's Rom. Leg. agrees with MV.

<sup>4</sup> MV I, 11 and 18; cp. ROCKHILL, l. of B. p. 39. No mention of it in Jāt. Intr. p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Different from the N. five Bhadravaggiyas = S. Paṭṭavaggiyas. Yet a Tibetan source has the same story of the 60 young men of "the happy band" or Bhadravaggiyas; see ROCKHILL, l. of B. p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Details about those miracles are found MV. I, 15–20; cp. Tib. L. 250 ff. SBE. XIX, 182.

<sup>7</sup> MV. I, 21. SBE. XIX, 186.

<sup>8</sup> SCHIEFFER, Tib. L. p. 254 has: "Mohnais des festen K'ütje". Whether "Rohchais" is intended for a rendering of Yaṣṭivana is doubtful. If so, Y. and Venuvana would seem to have been identified, or confounded. The name of the Shrine is obviously Sopratigga, answering to P. Supatigga. Cf. ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 42, note.

the Great Śramaṇa was the pupil of Uruvelā-Kāśyapa, or the reverse, the Lord penetrating their feelings, summoned the Sāhivira to give testimony anent his conversion, whereupon Kāśyapa declared that he had renounced the worship of Fire, and exclaimed: "The Lord is my master, I am his disciple". Then he rose into the air, and by that wonder fully convinced the crowd that he had yielded to the Tathāgata. But the Lord said: "Not now only have I subdued Kāśyapa; in the past, too, he was subdued by me", and on that occasion he told the Mahā-Nirāda-Kassapa Jātaka, winding up with a discourse on the 4 Axioms. On the conclusion the King with almost the whole of the assembly was established in the fruition of the first stage on the path to Nirvāṇa, and made profession of faith. Before taking leave he invited the Lord to dinner for next day.

The following morning, when the Master with his disciples entered Rājagṛha, there appeared in front of him a young Brahman — in reality Śakra, who had assumed that shape — singing the praises of Buddha, the Law, and the Congregation in the most lofty strain<sup>1</sup>.

When the King of Magadha had received his guests, he presented to the Saṅgha whose chief is the Buddha in the most formal way, by pouring water over the Master's hand, the Bamboo grove (Veṇuvana, P. Veluvana). The Buddha accepted the grant, and took up his abode in the grove with his company<sup>2</sup>.

At that time there lived at Rājagṛha a heterodox wandering ascetic (*paribbāhika*), Sañjaya, who had many disciples, amongst whom Śāriputra (Śāriputta) and Maudgalyāyana (Moggallāna)<sup>3</sup>. On a certain morning Śāriputra saw Aśvajit on his begging round, and, impressed by the Sāhivira's deportment, he asked him who was his teacher. Aśvajit answered that his Master was the Great Śramaṇa of the Śākya race, and added that he was not yet able<sup>4</sup> to give a detailed exposition of the doctrine, the essence of which, however, was contained in the following formula:

Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause

The cause has been told by Tathāgata;

And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.

Immediately on hearing this verse Śāriputra was established in the fruition of the first stage on the path to Nirvāṇa, and he repeated the formula to Maudgalyāyana, who likewise became a convert. Both left their teacher Sañjaya. Maudgalyāyana attained Arhatship in a week, Śāriputra in a fortnight, and they were elevated by the Buddha to the rank of his two Chief Disciples. That distinction excited the jealousy of the other disciples, but the Master proved by references to parallel cases under former Buddhas how their discontent was unfounded<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> MV I, 22; Intr. Jāt. p. 54; S. Nip. xv. 405—424. Cp. WINDSCH. op. c. pp. 234—303.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 43; SEE. XIX, 193.

<sup>3</sup> Śāriputra or Śāriṣṭa, also called Upatissa (Upatissa); another name of Maudgalyāyana is Kolita; see MV. I, 24; Dh. p. 120; Tib. I, p. 253, where the history of the two friends before their becoming pupils to Sañjaya is told. Śāriputra Dh. I, c. is the son of the Brahmin woman Sati; Tib. I, agrees, but confounds the birds *śarī* and *śārī*. The origin of the names Upatissa and Kolita is differently told II. cc. For Śārad-vastputra, synonymous with Śāriputra, see Tib. I, l. c. and REMOUE Int. p. 312. Cp. ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 44 and the references there given.

<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding his being an Arhat.

<sup>5</sup> An able discussion on the purport of this *confessio fidei* is found in HODGSON'S Ess. p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Dh. pp. 125 ff. Cp. ROCKHILL, op. c. p. 113; SEE. XIX, 196.



5. VISIT TO KAPILAVASTU. ORDINATION OF RĀHULA AND NANDA.  
BUDDHA'S RETURN TO RĀJAGRHA. CONVERSION OF ĀNANDA  
AND OTHER ŚĀKYAS. ANĀTHAPIṆḌIKA. VIŚĀKHĀ.

During the Tathāgata's stay in the Bambu grove, the news reached Śuddhodana that his son had become a Buddha, and was dwelling near Rājagṛha<sup>1</sup>. The old King despatched one of his courtiers with a large retinue to bring his son to Kapilavastu. The envoy departed and arrived at the Bambu grove, when the Master was engaged in preaching. The effect was that the courtier and all his followers attained to Arhatship and asked to be ordained. Their request was complied with, and as Arhats become indifferent to worldly matters, they failed to deliver the King's message.

Śuddhodana repeatedly sent other envoys, but the same thing happened to all his messengers nine times over. At last he thought of Uḍāyin the Black<sup>2</sup>, who was born on the same day as the Bodhisattva and had been his playmate. Uḍāyin undertook the task, but on the condition that he should be allowed to become a monk. The King agreed to the stipulation, the noble man went off to Rājagṛha, heard the Master preaching and, like his predecessors, obtained Arhatship<sup>3</sup>.

The Master had spent the time of Retreat during the rains near Benares; then went to Uruvelā, where he stayed 3 months. On the full moon day of Pausa he went to Rājagṛha, remaining there 2 months, so that 5 months had elapsed since he left Benares, and the cold season (*Āraṇṇika*) had past, a week after Uḍāyin's arrival<sup>4</sup>. Now on the full moon day of Phālguna, when the spring in all its loveliness had set in, Uḍāyin conceived that it was the fit time for the Buddha to visit his family. He went to the Lord, and painted him in glowing colours<sup>5</sup> the pleasantness of the spring-season, the right time to undertake a journey. When the Master asked to what purpose he so sweetly lauded travelling, Uḍāyin answered: "o Lord, your father desires to see you; deign to pay him a visit". "Well", said the Buddha, "I will do so".

Accompanied by a great number of monks, the Tathāgata left Rājagṛha with the intention of reaching Kapilavastu in two months. But Uḍāyin went instantly through the air, and made his appearance before Śuddhodana, to whom he announced his son's slow approach. The King, exceedingly pleased, supplied him with a meal, and gave him at the same time a bowl filled with the choicest food for the Buddha. The Śhāvira, after throwing the bowl into the air, rose himself up into the sky, caught the portion of food, and presented it to the Master.

Every day the Śhāvira brought food in the same manner. He moreover never failed to extol the great qualities of the Buddha in the presence of the Śākyas, on account of which meritorious act the Lord assigned to him the first place among those who knew to propitiate his family.

Meanwhile the Śākyas made preparatories to receive their relative, and at his approach went out to meet him at the Banyan garden. In their pride

<sup>1</sup> In Tib. sources the event is placed much later; Śuddhodana hears the tidings from Emamejā, King of Kosala; Tib. L. p. 16; ROCKHILL op. c. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Kaludāyin; in N. writings Kalodāyin, which may mean: Rising in time.

<sup>3</sup> The account in Tib. L. 20a is slightly different; the letter from the King to his son is evidently a late invention. The interview between father and son in SBE. XIX, 218 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This reckoning presupposes a period of Retreat of three months. Cp. CHILDERS a. v. *varso*.

<sup>5</sup> Therag. vv. 527-536, making only 10 stanzas instead of 60, as Intr. JBL p. 87 has it.

they were unwilling to prostrate themselves before him, but by a miracle the Lord forced them to do so<sup>1</sup>. The King, seeing that miracle, bowed down before his son. That was his third homage.

Then the Lord came down from the sky, and caused a shower of rain, which only wetted those who liked it, and no others. To the astonished crowd the Teacher said: "Not now only a rain falls on my relatives, formerly also the same took place", and on this occasion he related the *Viśvantara Jātaka*<sup>2</sup>.

The next day the Tāṇḍigata entered Kapilavastu to go his begging round. The mother of Rāhula, moved by curiosity, looked out from the high palace to see her former husband, and she beheld him in his monk's habit more glorious than he ever was in his princely state. She glorified him, the Lion of Men, and informed the King that his son was begging in the streets, in the dress of a monk. Śuddhodana went to meet the Buddha, and tried to persuade him that begging was unworthy of the descendant of an illustrious royal race, but his son replied: "Yours, o King, is that lineage of kings, but mine is the lineage of Buddhas, from Dipamkara down to Kāśyapa. These and all other Buddhas have been in the habit of living on alms". Then he uttered an edifying stanza, after which the King obtained the fruition of the first stage on the way to Nirvāṇa. A second stanza had the effect that Śuddhodana reached the second stage<sup>3</sup>. Afterwards he was established in the fruition of the third stage, on hearing the *Dharmapāla Jātaka*<sup>4</sup>, and at the moment when he was dying he attained to Arhatship.

On having become a saint of the first degree, the King conducted the Lord with the assembly of monks to the palace, where they partook of a savoury meal. After dinner all the women came and paid their homage to the Lord, except the mother of Rāhula. Then Buddha, flanked by Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, went to her apartments, and no sooner had she seen him, than she threw herself at his feet. When Śuddhodana praised her and dilated upon her virtuous behaviour, the Lord observed that her good conduct was not to be wondered at, since formerly, too, she watched over herself, and he told the *Canda-kinnara Jātaka*<sup>5</sup>.

On the second day Nanda, the son of Śuddhodana<sup>6</sup> and the Matron Gaṇṭanī was to celebrate his inauguration as crown prince and his marriage to Janapada-Kalyāṇī (the Beauty of the Land). The Buddha entered the house, and led him away to the Banyan garden. Nanda's bride impatiently waited for the return of her bridegroom, but in vain, for on the third day Nanda, much against his will, was compelled by the Buddha to become a monk<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to Dhj. p. 334 the Lord produced in the sky a jewel path on which he moved to and fro, preaching the Law. In *Intr. Jāt.* p. 88 the wonder performed is the same as the one at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree. Somewhat different again in *Tib. L.* 263. The essential trait in all is the walking in the sky.

<sup>2</sup> He was thinking of the same immediately after his Enlightenment; see p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> The two stanzas are Dhj. vsa. 108 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Jāt.* Nr. 447; a N. version in *Mhv.* II, 77. This event took place after Rāhula's ordination.

<sup>5</sup> *Jāt.* Nr. 485; represented in a *broader* of Bharhut II, XXII. Other *Jātakas* referring to Yaśodhara in her former births are found *Mhv.* II, 48—54; 166; the *Kinnara-J.* pp. 94—115 is different from the *Candak. J.*, but agrees in substance with *Divy.* 441 ff.; *Bhadrak.* XXIX; *Avad. Kalp.* LXIV.

<sup>6</sup> In *Bhadrak.* XXXV Nanda and Nandika are sons to Dhautodana, a name which must be synonymous with Śuddhodana.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Tib. L.* 265, where the bride is Sundarika; with ROCKHILL op. c. 53; *Bhadrak.* In the story of Ananda's temptation with BHĀSADEVA I, 187 J. K. is represented as the wife of Ananda. The story itself recurs *Tib. L.* 267, but refers to Nanda; so, too, in

On the seventh day the mother of Rāhula, on seeing the Buddha enter the palace, said to her son: "Look, Rāhula, that monk there is thy father; go and ask thine inheritance". The boy went up to his father, and said: "Monk, give me my inheritance". But the Tathāgata, wishing to make Rāhula the heir of a spiritual inheritance, ordered Śāriputra to confer on the boy the novice ordination (*sāmaṇera-pabbajjā*). This was done, much to the spite of Suddhodana, who complained of what had happened, and obtained from his son the boon that in the sequel no one should be ordained without the consent of the parents<sup>1</sup>.

From Kapilavastu the Master returned to Rājagṛha, where he took his abode in the Śīlavana<sup>2</sup>.

After the depart of the Buddha, but before his arrival at Rājagṛha, whilst he was staying at Anupiya in the country of the Mallas, many conversions took place in Kapilavastu. The chief converts were Anuruddha, brother to Mahānāma, Bhaddiya, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila and Devadatta. With the intention to become monks, these Śākian princes followed by Upālī the barber, went in the direction of Anupiya. At some distance from Kapilavastu they doffed their fine dresses and gave them to Upālī, who at first accepted them, but on afterthought resolved to follow the princes. As soon as they came into the presence of the Master, they asked admission into the Congregation, and, in order to curb their own pride, they requested that the barber should be first ordained. Their demand was granted<sup>3</sup>.

At the time when the Lord was at the Śīlavana, there came to Rājagṛha a wealthy merchant, Sudatta, surnamed Anāthapiṇḍika, from Śrāvastī. He heard from a friend in whose house he was lodging that the Lord Buddha had arisen, which moved him to go the next morning to the Śīlavana. Then he heard the preaching of the law and became a Śrotāṣpanna. On the following day he bestowed a great donation on the Saṅgha having the Buddha for its head, and invited them to come to Śrāvastī.

In order to prepare for a worthy reception, Anāthapiṇḍika returned to Śrāvastī, where he bought from the prince Jeta the Jetavana park for 18 Koṭis of goldpieces<sup>4</sup>. There he erected a splendid monastery, in the midst a private room (*gandhārūṇī*) for the Master, and all around separate dwellings for the senior monks, cells etc.

On the day when the Lord approached the city, he was received with great pomp, and, on entering the precincts of the monastery, he was asked by the merchant: "What, o Lord, shall I do with this Vibhāra?" The reply was: "Give it to the Saṅgha present and future". And Anāthapiṇḍika, pouring water over the hands of the Buddha, pronounced the solemn formula of

HARDY'S M. of B. p. 205. In Bhadrak. XXXV Suddera and Suddarānanda appear synonymous with Ānanda. The bride seems to be identical with the Janapada-Kalyāṇī Ropa-Nandā Dhṛ. Comm. on vs. 150; cp. Theng. vi. 82, and her history Par. Dhp. So ff.

<sup>1</sup> MV. I, 54. Cp. Intr. Jāt. 91; Tib. I. 265.

<sup>2</sup> P. Śīlavana; Skr. also pleonastically Śīlavana-śmaṣāna, a cemetery, Divy. 264, 268; Tib. I. 258.

<sup>3</sup> More simply told CV. VII, 1; Dhṛ. pp. 139 ff. Cp. HARDY M. of B. 227 ff. Tib. I. 264; 266; ROCKHILL op. c. 53 ff. Cp. Bhadrak. XXXV. From CV. VII, 2 it would appear that Buddha went from Anupiya to Kauśāmbī, but DIGAUXET I, 153 agrees with the Tib. tradition. — The Skr. names are Anuruddha, Mahānāma, Bhaddrika, Bhagu; Kimbila is wanting.

<sup>4</sup> CV. VI, 4; Sapp. N. I, p. 210; Intr. Jāt. p. 92; Boddiv. p. 42; HARDY M. of B. 218; Tib. I. 258; ROCKHILL op. c. 47; BEAL SBE. XIX, 201 and 230. The N. form of the surname is Anāthapiṇḍika; in the Bharhut sculpture Pl. XXVIII and I.VII Anāthapiṇḍika; for the inscription below the sculpture see CHILBERS in Academy of 1874, p. 586; 612.

donation. The Master accepted the gift with thanks and celebrated in stanzas the advantages of a monastery<sup>1</sup>.

In those days Śrāvastī was the residence of Prasenajit (P. Pasenadi), king of Kosala, and brother in law to Bimbisāra<sup>2</sup>. There lived also a rich merchant, Migāra<sup>3</sup>, whose son Pūrnavardhana (Punnavaddhana), became the husband of the virtuous Visākhā<sup>4</sup>, the daughter of Dhammajaya and Sumana from Bhaddiya in Aṅga-land<sup>5</sup>. When she was seven years of age, it happened that the Buddha visiting Bhaddiya, perceived her predisposition to become a convert. In course of time her family migrated to Sāketa, and from this place she went, at the age of sixteen, to Śrāvastī as the bride of Pūrnavardhana. After her marriage she rendered signal services to Buddha and the Congregation; she was the means of converting her father-in-law, who previously was an adherent of the naked Jains, in consequence of which she was surnamed "the mother of Migāra". Another merit of hers was the erection of the monastery of Pūrvārāma (Pubbārāma) near Śrāvastī, which in splendour was inferior only to the Vihāra built by Anāthapiṇḍika. Though these occurrences must have taken place several years after the story of Anāthapiṇḍika they are here briefly alluded to<sup>6</sup>.

#### 6. ĀMRAPĀLĪ JĪVAKA BUDDHA'S JOURNEY TO VAISĀLĪ. DISPUTE BETWEEN ŚĀKYAS AND KOLİYAS. DEATH OF ŚUDDHODANA. ADMISSION OF NUNS INTO THE ORDER. CONVERSION OF KHEMĀ.

Once upon a time, when the Tathāgata spent the rainy season near Rājagṛha, at the Kalandaka-nivāpa<sup>7</sup> in the Bambu grove — it may have been the second or third retreat or later — it came to the notice of Bimbisāra that there was in Vaisālī a famous courtesan, named Āmrapālī (Āmbapālī, Āmbapālīkī<sup>8</sup>). Being jealous of that city and wishing to emulate with it, he resolved to produce in his own kingdom some courtesan who in accomplishments would be superior to Āmrapālī. Such a person was found in the girl Sālavadī. After some time she became pregnant by Abhaya, the son of the King. She was delivered of a boy, who according to the custom of courtesans was exposed, but accidentally the Prince discovered the infant, and though unaware that it was his own son, he took the boy to the palace, called him Jivaka, and gave him a careful education<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The same stanzas, according to CV. VI, 1, were uttered on another occasion, at the donation of 60 Vihāras by a merchant of Rājagṛha.

<sup>2</sup> A sculpture referring to Prasenajit in Bharhut Pl. XIII; cp. CONYNGHAM p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Skt. Migāra; Divy. 44; 77; wrongly Migadhara Tib. I. 270.

<sup>4</sup> In Donagan Chap. 28 she is named Anuradha, the asterism following on Visākhā; Tib. I. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the place is Bhadrakara in Divy. 123 ff. The father of Dhammajaya, Megdhaka, also excelled in virtue, as in fact the whole family. For the story of Megdhaka or Megdhaka see MV. VI, 34; Divy. l. c.

<sup>6</sup> For a fuller account see Mhp. pp. 230 ff. MV. VIII, 13; Divy. 44, 77, 466; HARRY M. of II. 220 ff. Tib. I. 270; ROCKHILL op. c. 70 ff. More references in E. MULLER'S Glossary (JPTS of 1888) s. v. Migāramātā and Visākhā.

<sup>7</sup> The N. Kalandaka-nivāpa, s. g. Divy. 262; and Kalandaka-nivāsa.

<sup>8</sup> Her history and prehistory is told in Par. Dhp. 207 ff., commencing the highly poetical stanzas ascribed to her, Therīg. vs. 232—270. Cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 64; Tib. I. 253, where she is represented as the mother of Prince Abhaya by Bimbisāra. In Pāli sources, the Comm. on Therīg. vs. 64, and Par. Dhp. 207, she has a son, the Thera Vimāla-Kopḍaṇḍa by Bimbisāra; in the former passage her name is indicated by the conundrum *Punnavahya*, the king's by *Punjabraketa*. Abhaya's conversion told Majjh. N. N. 58.

<sup>9</sup> The story of Jivaka is told MV. VIII, 1; Majjh. N. I, pp. 368 ff. Cp. ROCKHILL l. c. and Tib. I. 253, where J. is the son of Bimbisāra, procured in adultery.

When Jivaka, surnamed Komārabhacca<sup>1</sup> had reached the years of discretion, he went to Takṣaṣīlā to study medicine under a renowned professor. After seven years of study he was perfectly skilled in the art and dismissed as such by his teacher. In course of time the young physician had occasion to show his eminent skill; he cured — not to speak of other cases — Pradyota the Cruel, King of Ujjayini, as well as Bimbisāra, who appointed him to his physician in ordinary.

On a certain day the Buddha happened to be troubled with constipation. Jivaka was called and by applying a most delicate purgative succeeded in healing within short the Lord from his disease<sup>2</sup>.

It was not only by this happy cure that Jivaka rendered himself useful to the Master; he presented him also two magnificent pieces of cloth he had received from Pradyota in acknowledgment of his medical services. The Lord accepted this gift, and, assembling the monks, gave them permission to wear a dress presented by laymen, but also, if they pleased, a cloth of rags<sup>3</sup>.

During his stay in the Bambu grove in the third rainy season, the Lord received a deputation from the Vaiśālīans, imploring him to deliver them from a frightful pestilence which desolated their country. In vain they had sought relief by recurring to the 6 heretical teachers<sup>4</sup>, and now they besought the Buddha to save them. The Master willingly acceded to their demand, and proceeded on a road, prepared by order of the King, to the Southern bank of the Ganges. On the Northern side of the river he was most respectfully received by the Licchavi nobles. No sooner had he set foot in the country, than the malign spirits that caused the disease fled away and the sick were restored to health. Having entered the city, the Tathāgata uttered the Ratana-sūtra<sup>5</sup> and made numberless converts. After receiving many pious gifts he returned to Rājagṛha<sup>6</sup>.

Three consecutive rainy seasons were spent by the Lord in the Bambu grove; in the fifth he sojourned near Vaiśālī in the Kāṣṭhāgāra hall of the Mahāvīra<sup>7</sup>. In that period there arose a dispute between the Sākyas and the Koliyas about the water of the river Rohitā, which owing to an unusual drought was not sufficient to irrigate the fields on both sides of the river. The quarrel rose high, and a battle would have ensued, had not the Buddha, perceiving by his divine eye what was going on, hastened through the sky

<sup>1</sup> This answers to a Skr. *Kamārabhṛtya*, but in Divy. 276 and 306 modified to *Kamārabhūta*. *Komārabhacca*, occasionally occurring in P. texts, looks like a misread *Kamārabhacca*. ROCKHILL'S rendering of Tib. *ka-kom-mo-nyo* l. c. is quite fanciful; the words clearly point to "therapeutics of children", i. e. *Kamārabhṛtya*; see JÄGERKE Tib. Engl. Dict. s. vv.

<sup>2</sup> Albeit the Lord had conquered death and disease by his having eradicated their ultimate cause, viz. *avijjā*, the consequences of his former *karma* were not completely destroyed. Hence he was liable to human infirmities.

<sup>3</sup> According to HARRY M. of B. 249, these things occurred in the twentieth year.

<sup>4</sup> More about these worthies anon.

<sup>5</sup> The visit to Vaiśālī is told more circumstantially and with some variations in Mhv. I. 253; HARRY M. of B. 256; cp. Tib. I. 285, where the event is placed much later, in the reign of Aśokaśāra. — The Ratana-sūtra (ed. CHILDESS, JRAS of 1879, p. 313; FRANKFORTER, Handb. 85) has its counterpart in Mhv. I. 200 ff. (*Svastyayana-Gāthā*).

<sup>6</sup> Among the donations mention is made Mhv. I. c. of the Sālavana. It was presented by Goṣṭhi, who had sent a parrot to invite Buddha to dinner; the same is told Tib. I. l. c. of *Amrapālī*.

<sup>7</sup> The succession of places where B. is said to have spent the Retreat is differently given; we follow the order in BUDDHART. A really historical chronology is out of question. — Mahāvīra is characterised in BRONKHORST I. 204 as a forest of Sal-trees; thus it appears to be identical with Sālavana, the donation of Goṣṭhi.

to the place where the parties stood ready to fight, and moved them to lay down the arms. The eloquent discourse which he delivered at that occasion had the effect that he made many converts<sup>1</sup>.

A short time after the event the Buddha got the notice that his father was seriously ill. Without delay he flew with some of his followers through the sky to Kapilavastu. Having come into the presence of the patient, he preached to him the instability of all things, so that Śuddhodana reached the fourth stage, that of Arhatship, and, paying for the third time in his life homage to his son, he entered Nirvāṇa.

After the death of her husband, the Matron Gautamī<sup>2</sup> desired to forsake the world and embrace a religious life. Therefore she went to the Lord, who was then sojourning in the Banyan garden, and asked to become a nun. But the Buddha refused, because he would not admit females into the Order, and returned to Vaiśālī.

Far from giving up her design, the widowed Queen and many other ladies cut their hair, put on yellow robes and went on foot to Vaiśālī. When these ladies, covered with dust, with swollen feet, and bathed in tears arrived at the Kūṣgāra hall, they were seen by Ānanda, who, having ascertained the object of their journey, went to the Master and pleaded in their favour. At first the Buddha was unwilling to admit women into the Congregation; at last, however, at the instances of Ānanda, who remembered him of the motherly care of Gautamī, he gave his consent, but on the condition that the Matron should submit to 8 duties of subordination (*garuḍhamaṇa*). Gautamī gladly promised to keep those duties<sup>3</sup>, whereupon she with all the other ladies became nuns.

Although the Master thus had ceded to the entreaties of Ānanda, he was fully aware of the dangerous consequences attending on the admission of women. "If no women had been admitted into the Order", said he to Ānanda, "the Good Law would stand 1000 years, but now chastity and holiness will not last long, and the Law will only stand 500 years". His misgivings proved true by the subsequent events: the ladies, even Gautamī, were now and then fretful, and some time afterwards, when the Lord sojourned at Śrāvastī, some nuns moved the indignation of the public by their scandalous behaviour<sup>4</sup>.

From Vaiśālī the Tathāgata went to Śrāvastī, where he spent the 6th rainy season. At the end of the Retreat he removed to Rājagṛha. Whilst he was staying in the Bambu grove happened the conversion of Khemā, wife to Bimbisāra. In the pride of her beauty she had never deigned to see the Lord, but on a certain day, when she was taking her recreation in the Bambu grove, she was brought by a contrivance of the King into the presence of the Master, who, to cure her from her vanity, produced by his miraculous power a female beautiful as a Nymph from heaven. While she was gazing on that apparition, he made it pass through the stages of youth, middle age, old age, and death. By that frightful sight Khemā was prepared to hear the lessons of the Master, and on hearing him utter some stanzas<sup>5</sup> she at once

<sup>1</sup> Dhṛp. p. 351; Jñ. V. p. 412. Cp. HARTY M. of B. 307.

<sup>2</sup> For details concerning G. see ED. MÖLLER in Par. Dip. p. XI.

<sup>3</sup> As to those duties and the whole story of the admission of G. see CV. X, 4; cp. HARTY E. M. p. 137; M. of B. 312; ROCKHILL op. c. 61. The institution of the Order of nuns took place in the 7th year according Tib. l. 268, nearly agreeing with the chronology in BUDDHART.

<sup>4</sup> Instances of indecent conduct are related CV. X, 9—27.

<sup>5</sup> Par. Dhṛp. p. 133, vs. 56—70; cp. Dhṛp. vs. 347.



attained the first stage, or as others say, Arhatship<sup>1</sup>. Before her Arhatship she was tempted by Māra, but she happily overcame the temptation<sup>2</sup>.

7. THE HERETICAL TEACHERS CONFOUNDED. BUDDHA GOES TO HEAVEN AND EXPOUNDS THE ABHIDHARMA TO MĀYĀ. DESCENT AT SĀMKAŚYA. CĪCĀ. DISSENSION IN THE CONGREGATION. BUDDHA'S STAY IN THE WILDERNESS. RETURN. PARABLE OF THE LABOURER. FURTHER EVENTS. PUNISHMENT OF SUPRABUDDHA.

Among the opponents of the Lord stood foremost six chiefs of heretical sects (Tirthikas, Tirthyas, P. Tirthiyas) to wit: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Nigantha Nātaputta, and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta<sup>3</sup>. Each of these teachers had numerous adherents, which did not prevent them from being jealous of the success of the Lord — the Śramaṇa Gautama, as they were wont to call him —, and everywhere, oft by foul means, they tried to thwart him. One of them, Sañjaya had been the teacher of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana before they became disciples of the Buddha. Both he and the other Tirthikas had proved powerless against the pestilence in the country of Vaiśālī, so miraculously removed by Buddha.

During the stay of the Lord near Rājagṛha it happened that a wealthy merchant of that place came in possession of a piece of sandal wood<sup>4</sup>. He had a bowl carved out of that piece, put it in a balance, and raising it to the top of a series of bambus he said: "If any Śramaṇa or Brahman be possessed of miraculous faculty, let him take down the bowl". The 6 heretics, conscious of their lack of miraculous faculty, went in succession to the merchant and tried to get from him the bowl, but he refused. At that time Maudgalyāyana and Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja saw the bowl and incited each other to fetch it down. Then Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja<sup>5</sup> rose up into the sky, took the bowl and moved thrice round the city, to the astonishment of the public. When it came to the notice of the Lord what had happened, he rebuked P. Bhāradvāja for such a display of superhuman power for the sake of a paltry wooden bowl. "This will not conduce", said he, "either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the advantage of the converted". And he prohibited the monks in the sequel to display before the laity their superhuman power of working miracles. This prohibition did not imply that the Lord himself should refrain from working miracles, nor that his disciples were bound, under all circumstances, not to display their superhuman faculty. Very soon it would

<sup>1</sup> *Par. Dh.* p. 126 ff. with the quotation from *Apadāna* there; cp. *Dhp.* p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> See the beautiful verses *Therīg.* 139 ff. *Samy.* N. V. 4. 2 ff.; cp. *CASALANI Folio*, Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation, p. 3—10. The same story of conversion is told of Nanda; see above p. 28. Apparently another person is Kṣemā, daughter to Prasenajit, in *Avad. Śat.* VIII. 9.

<sup>3</sup> In N. writings, *Dīvy.* XII and *Mhv.* I, 253, the names are Pūraṇa-Kāśyapa or Kāśyapa Pūraṇa, Makkhali Gosāliputta, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Nigraṇtha Jālāputta, and Sañjaya Vairatṭhiputta. Their tenets are described in *Sāmaññaphala-S.* (*Dīgh.* N. I, Nr. 2; transl. *BURNOUR*, *Lotus* p. 448); cp. *ROCKHILL* op. c. p. 99 ff., is the Chinese version by *Banyan Nanjio* there p. 235; on Gosāla Makkhali's doctrine viewed from the Jain standpoint, see *LESSONS* there p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> *CV.* V, 8; transl. *SBE.* XX, 78. Cp. *ROCKHILL* op. c. 69, where the man's name is Jyotiṣka, probably the Jotiṣa of *Dhp.* p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> This person was still living in the last years of Aśoka's reign, according to *Dīvy.* p. 399.

appear that in order to confound the obstinate Tirthikas, a grand display of miraculous power by the Lord would be required.

The heretics, finding no encouragement for their tricks from Bindisāra, went to the King Prasenajit in Śrāvastī, in the hope there to be more successful<sup>1</sup>. The Buddha, knowing what was going on, and remembering that Śrāvastī was the very place where all former Buddhas had shown their greatest miracle, travelled to that capital and took his abode in the Jetavana. A few days after his arrival the great show would be performed in the presence of Prasenajit, the six Tirthikas, and an immense crowd. The Master created in the sky an immense road from the Eastern to the Western horizon, and after ascending it he began performing a series of inimitable wonders; first appeared a reddish gleam, then a flood of light, glittering as gold, which spread over the whole world — phenomena similar to those which the world saw when he took possession of the seat of Enlightenment. From his elevated place he preached the Law to mortals, and the people who heard him came to understand the four Axioms.

The six heretical teachers were confounded, and quite powerless, so that the Lord in full justice could declare: "The fire-fly shineth as long as the Sun doeth not shine, but as soon as the great luminary hath risen, the worm is overpowered by the rays and shineth no more"<sup>2</sup>. An attempt of Pūrana-Kāśyapa to annul the effects of the Lord's miracles and teaching was utterly unsuccessful, and in despair he tied a large jar to his neck, threw himself into the river, was drowned, and went, as he deserved, to the lowest of hells, Avīci.

It is a fixed law that all Buddhas after performing their great miracle resort to the heaven of the 33 gods. After producing a shadowy likeness of himself, the Tathāgata vanished, and went to heaven, in order to expound the Abhidharma to his mother Māyā<sup>3</sup>. Since every day he had to go his begging round on earth, he created a likeness of himself, that had to continue the teaching of the Abhidharma during his own temporary absence.

During three months the Lord stayed in heaven. When he was about to descend, Śakra ordered Viśvakarman to construct a triple ladder, the foot of which was put near the town of Sāṃkāśya (P. Sāṅkissa). Flanked by Brahma on the right, and by Śakra on the left, the Tathāgata descended, and came down near Sāṃkāśya, on the spot where all Buddhas set their feet when descending from heaven. A celebrated shrine has been erected on that very spot<sup>4</sup>.

From Sāṃkāśya the Buddha went to the Jetavana near Śrāvastī. The Tirthikas, more angry than ever at his increasing fame and the loss of their own profits, now tried to obtain by slander what they could not effect by fair means. For that purpose they induced a young woman, Cīṇa<sup>5</sup> by name, who was a lay devotee of their sect, to accuse the Śramaṇa Gautama of having had carnal intercourse with her. The wily woman succeeded, by feigned visits to the Jetavana, to arouse the suspicion of the public, and contrived a means to assume the appearance of a person in a state of pregnancy.

<sup>1</sup> Divy. XII; (transl. BERNIERI Int., pp. 162 ff.); cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 79; BIGANDER I, 215 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the expression Dhj. p. 338: Tīrthiṣṭa suriyaggama khaṇḍipoma-kāṇḍikā shemam.

<sup>3</sup> BIGANDER I, 221 ff. Cp. Tib. I, 272.

<sup>4</sup> BIGANDER I, 225 ff.; Divy. 401; Tib. I, 273; ROCKHILL, op. c. 81; Fa Hsian, Rec. pp. 47 ff.; Voy. II, 237 ff. The ladder is represented at Bharhut Pl. XVII, central compartment.

<sup>5</sup> Cīṇa-Nāgavika.

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In the ninth month she rendered herself at evening time to the place where the Master was in the act of preaching. There, in the presence of the assembly, she accused the Buddha of being the cause of her pregnancy, and required that he should provide a place for her approaching confinement.

The Tathāgata, interrupted in his teaching, answered with a roaring voice: "Sister, whether thy words be true or not true, nobody knows but myself, and thou". And in that very moment, lo! Śakra followed by four angels who were transformed into young mice came to the spot. The mice gnawed through the strings by which the wooden globe designed to give the appearance of pregnancy was fastened, and so the globe fell to the ground, crushing the feet of the wicked Cīcā. Hooted at and pursued by the indignant people, she at once disappeared in the midst of flames rising from the depth of the earth, and descended to the bottom of the hell Avīci<sup>1</sup>.

The eighth Retreat was held at the Crocodile-hill<sup>2</sup> in the Deerpark of the Bhesakālā-forest in the Bhārga country<sup>3</sup>. At that time the Prince Bodhi, having just finished the palace Kokanada, sent a young Brahman to invite the Master with the disciples to dinner. The invitation being accepted, the palace was spread over with white cloth down to the last row of steps, and the Prince went out to meet his guest. The Buddha came near, but stopped at the lowest step and refused to proceed farther. He cast a significant glance at Ānanda, and the latter said to the Prince: "Let this cloth be removed, Prince. The Lord will not tread on a strip of cloth, for he has compassion on the meanest thing". Then the cloth was removed, the Tathāgata went up to the palace, and sat down to partake of dinner with his followers. After finishing his meal, he edified the assembly by a discourse, and lay down the rule that the monks were forbidden to tread on cloth. — From Bhārga country the Buddha set out for Śrāvastī<sup>4</sup>.

According to a S. tradition<sup>5</sup>, the Lord spent the ninth Retreat at Kauśāmbī, in the Ghosīkārāma<sup>6</sup>. During his stay in this place there arose deplorable dissensions among the brethren. One of the monks had infringed unintentionally a point of discipline, and was therefore accused by another. The former protested. Some brethren took the part of the defendant, others that of the accuser, and the dispute became more and more vehement. The Master tried repeatedly to allay the strife; he told the beautiful story of

<sup>1</sup> Dh. p. 338; J. IV, p. 187. Fa Hian, Rec. p. 69. Cp. FEKK JA of 1895, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Śīpāsundaragiri, P. Samsundaragīra. *Samsundar* is given as an equivalent of *Anandika*, and the corresponding word in Skr. is decidedly *not* Delphinus Gangeus in Śaśma I, 209, for the animal has feet.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. I., 316 has for Bhesakālā "the Deerpark of the Yaka Bhayaskara"; and for Pālī Bhārga, wrongly Vagga. — In BUDDHIST the 8th Retreat immediately follows on the abode in Śrāvastī, but CV. V, as the B. comes from Vaidīh.

<sup>4</sup> CV. V, 22.

<sup>5</sup> BUDDHIST I, 234.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. Ghosita's garden. Ghosita, in N. texts also Ghosila, is one of the three ministers of Udayana (P. Udena), King of the Vaisa country, in the capital Kauśāmbī (Kosambī). Udayana is a popular personage in Indian fable lore. As to the Buddhist version of his story see Dh. pp. 155 ff.; Divy. pp. 528 ff.; Tib. I., 269, 276; his three wives were Sāmavattī, Vasudhātā, and Magandiyā or 'udika. N. Sāmavattī, Anupamā (apparently = S. Māgandiyā), the daughter of the heterodox Mahandika, and, as known from other sources, Vāsavadatta. It was Ghosika who presented the garden to Buddha. Dh. p. 167; Fa Hian, Rec. p. 96, where Legat's Ghochira should be Ghosila; cp. REA. SBE. XIX, 245. The name of the garden in N. sources is usually Ghositarāma; Tib. I., 276, 316. — Concerning the unbeliever Magandiyā see Mil. P. 313; Majjh. N. I, 502 ff.; Dh. 164; S. Nip. p. 157.

Dighāvu, the son of Dighā, King of Kosala<sup>1</sup>, but all his wisdom and kind remonstrances were in vain. At last disgusted with such a state of things, and judging that good counsels would be squandered on such fools, he left their company, but not before uttering in the midst of the assembly some suitable stanzas<sup>2</sup>. Thereupon he repaired to the village of Bālakalopākārā, with the intention to devote himself to a hermit's life. After a meeting with the venerable Bhagu he proceeded to the Eastern Bamboo park (Pācīna-Vamsadāya), where Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila were living in the most perfect unity and concord. They cordially welcomed their Master, who gladdened them with a sermon, and then went farther to Pārileyyaka. There, dwelling in the Rakkhita grove, at the foot of a Bhadrāsāla tree, he felt all the happiness of a solitary life.

Near that place, there lived a noble elephant who had experienced much inconvenience from the herd of elephants in his train. Therefore he had left the herd and came to Pārileyyaka. He approached the Lord, provided him with food and drink, and enjoyed his calm life, now that he lived remote from the crowd of elephants which had given him so much trouble. The Buddha fully understood the feelings of the animal, and gave vent to his feeling of sympathy in a stanza<sup>3</sup>.

After dwelling for sometime at Pārileyyaka, the Lord went to Śrāvastī. In the meanwhile the seditious monks of Kauśāmbī had received such signal marks of disrespect from the laity in that city, that they resolved upon going to Śrāvastī to have the question settled before the Master. Both contending parties having arrived at Śrāvastī laid the case anew before the Lord, who by pronouncing a lawful decision restored the concord in the Saṅgha<sup>4</sup>.

During the eleventh Retreat the Tathāgata sojourned near Rājagṛha. One day, when he was in the district of the Southern hills (Dakkhiṇāgiri) at the village of Ekanālī, he saw the Brahman Bhāradvāja superintending the labourers in his fields<sup>5</sup>. On perceiving the Buddha, the Brahman said: "O Sramana, I plough and sow, and by doing so find my subsistence. Do thou also plough and sow to live upon". The Lord replied: "I, too, O Brahman, plough and sow, and by doing so find my food". The Brahman, surprised at that answer, said: "I do not see, reverend Gautama, that you have a yoke, ploughshare, goad or bullocks. How can you then say that you, too, are a labourer?" Then the Lord said: "Faith is the seed I sow; devotion is the rain; modesty is the ploughshare; the mind is the tie of the yoke; mindfulness is my ploughshare and goad. Truthfulness is the means to bind; tenderness, to untie. Energy is my team and bullock, leading to safety and proceeding without backsliding to the place where there is no sorrow".

The Brahman was so much impressed by the parable that he became a convert and made profession of faith.

<sup>1</sup> MV. N. 2; Jāt. III, 212, 259; Dhāp. pp. 104 ff.

<sup>2</sup> MV. N. 31 cp. Dhāp. vv. 3-6; 328-330; S. Nip. Khaggavisāṇa-S. vv. 11, 12. Cp. the Khaggavisāṇa Gāthas Mhv. I. 357-359.

<sup>3</sup> A detailed account of the dissensions in Kauśāmbī is contained in MV. N. 1-4; Dhāp. pp. 105 ff. Cp. Jāt. III, p. 489. The Pārileya elephant is made mention of in Jāt. Mālā XIX, 36.

<sup>4</sup> MV. N. 5; an account with some traits wanting in MV. occurs Dhāp. p. 107, agreeing with Brahmajāla I. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Sam. N. VII, 2, 1, and with some variations S. Nip. No. 4; cp. Prof. R. H. DAVIES, B. p. 134.

In the twelfth rainy season the Lord stayed near the town of Veralāṣā<sup>1</sup>. A certain Brahman there came to visit him and became a believer. On the invitation of the Brahman Buddha spent at Veralāṣā the whole season, at the end of which period he took leave of the hospitable convert, and travelled all over the country as far as Soreyya near Takṣaśīlā; thence to Sāmkāśya, Kanauj, Prāyāga, where he crossed the Ganges, directing himself to Benares. From this city he travelled to Vaiśālī, where he took his abode in the Kūṣāgāra hall<sup>2</sup>.

The thirteenth Retreat was held in Śrāvastī and Cālikā; the following rainy season was spent in the Jetavana<sup>3</sup>, where Rāhula, then 20 years old, received the Upasampadā Ordination. In the same year the Master visited Kapilavastu.

During his stay in the Banyan garden he had to endure a grave insult from his father-in-law, Suprabuddha<sup>4</sup>. One day as the latter was informed that the Tathāgata was about to go his begging round in a certain quarter of the town, he went out, after intoxicating himself with liquor, planted himself in the middle of the street, barring the passage to the Buddha and vilely abusing him. The Master, quietly glancing at Ānanda, uttered the prediction that in a week Suprabuddha should be swallowed alive by the earth. Suprabuddha laughed at that prediction, and imagined that he might easily avoid his doom by remaining during a week in the tower of his palace, but he should experience that no place on earth can afford shelter to the author of a wicked deed<sup>5</sup>. On the fatal day the earth burst open under his feet, and he sunk in the abyss down to the bottom of the Avīci hell as a punishment for his wickedness<sup>6</sup>.

### 8. THE YAKṢA OF ĀLAVĪ. APPOINTMENT OF ANANDA. CONVERSION OF AṄGULIMĀLA. MURDER OF SUNDARĪ. ANĀTHA-PINDIKĀ'S DAUGHTER.

The Lord returned from Kapilavastu to the Jetavana monastery<sup>7</sup>. Hence he proceeded to Ālavī, where he succeeded in converting a cruel Yakṣa who was in the habit of devouring the children of that place. When the Buddha came in his presence, the monster received him with contempt and threats, but gradually overcome by the meekness and patience of the Master, he felt softer feelings spring up in his breast, and at last he said: "I will ask you, Śramaṇa, some questions. If you are not able to solve them, I shall tear out your heart or fling you into the Ganges". The Lord quietly allowed

<sup>1</sup> In Skr. the town is called Valrāntī; Valrāntya, P. Veralāṣa, being the Adj. Valrāntas, in plur., is the name of the people and country in Avad. K. L., 27.

<sup>2</sup> S. Vibh. I, 1; 4.

<sup>3</sup> Thus BEAUMONT I, 240. In N. traditions Buddha spent the 12th rainy season in the Pārāśrama; the 13th in the Jetavana; the 14th in the Śimṣapā grove near Nāḥikā; Tib. L. 315.

<sup>4</sup> So HARRY M. of R. p. 132 and p. 330, but, curiously enough, he is called p. 134 the father of Māya, just as in Tib. L. p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> Dh. p. vs. 128.

<sup>6</sup> Suprabuddha was one of the five persons thus punished for a heinous crime against the Buddha or against one of the latter's disciples, the four others being Devadatta, the youth Nanda, the Yakṣa Nandaka, and Uśin; Mil. P. 101.

<sup>7</sup> It is perhaps to this period that we should refer the conversion of the Brahman Pākṣharasādi, in N. texts wrongly Sanskritized to Paṣkarasārin, instead of Paṣkarasādi. See Ambaṭṭha-S. and Tevijja-S. (Digh. N. III and XII); S. Nip. p. 112; cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 82 and especially the interesting Śārdūlavastu in Divy. pp. 611-639; BUDDHOUR Intr. 205 ff.

the Yaksa to put the questions and immediately solved them to the satisfaction of the enquirer, who became a believer and mended his life<sup>1</sup>. Afterwards on the spot of that conversion a monastery was erected<sup>2</sup>.

From Ālavi the Master went to Rājagṛha, where he spent the 17th rainy season in the Bamboo grove. The time of Retreat being over, he resumed his preaching all over the country, and came, after a short stay at Śrāvastī, again to Ālavi. The 18th season was spent on a hill near Cālikā; the following again in the Bamboo grove; the 20th in the Jetavana<sup>3</sup>. It was in this year that Ānanda was appointed as the Lord's waiter<sup>4</sup>. Another event of importance in that period was the conversion of Aṅgulimāla or Aṅgulimālaka, a famous robber and murderer in Kosala. Undaunted by all evil reports, the Buddha went to the abode of the robber in the forest, and by his equanimity succeeded in conquering the fierceness of the cruel Aṅgulimāla, who not only became a convert, but in a short time attained Arhatship, much to the wonder of the brethren<sup>5</sup>. The Master, however, showed them how Aṅgulimāla by eradicating his sinful propensities had so rapidly reached perfection.

During the stay of the Lord in the Jetavana another attempt was made by his heretical opponents to blacken his reputation. They hired some bravoes to murder the nun Sundarī. The crime was perpetrated, and the body of Sundarī thrown into a thicket near the Jetavana monastery. When the corpse had been found, the Tīrthikas intimated that no other but Gautama could be the author of the crime, but by an accident the real culprits were found out, and the heretics put to shame<sup>6</sup>.

About that time the pious Anāthapiṇḍika gave his daughter<sup>7</sup> in marriage to the son of a friend of his in Āṅga. As that friend was an adherent of the naked ascetics, Anāthapiṇḍika, fearing lest his daughter would be shaken in her convictions, gave her a retinue of female attendants to support her in the true faith. When the young wife had come to her new home, she was required by her father-in-law to pay her respects to the naked ascetics. Disgusted at the sight of these heretics, the young woman refused even to look at them, which much exasperated her father-in-law, but by keeping firm and by continually extolling the glorious virtues of the Buddha and the Saṅgha, she excited in her mother-in-law and other ladies of the town the eager desire to see the Lord and to hear him preach the Law.

The Lord, who in the early morning surveys with his allseeing eye the whole of Jambudvīpa, perceived what was happening in Āṅga land. At once

<sup>1</sup> For these questions and answers see Smṛy. N. X, 12; S. Nip. I, 10. Cp. the account in BIGANDET I, 246, and the variation in HARDY M. of B. 261 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ālavi is the Skr. Ālavi, and undoubtedly the place designated as the "Wood-village" in Tib. L. 315, with a monastery where B. is said to have spent the 20th rainy season. It was situated between Kosala and Magadha. The monastery may be identified with the Aggāḥva Shrine near Ālavi, Smṛy. N. VIII and CN. VI, 17, cp. 21, where we read that the Lord went from Ālavi to Rājagṛha.

<sup>3</sup> BIGANDET I, 248 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. *apṇṇāḍḍha*, in Skr. Buddhist writings *apṇṇāḍḍha*; in other works *apṇṇāḍḍha*, *apṇṇāḍḍha*. Cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 88.

<sup>5</sup> A more detailed account in BIGANDET I, 254; HARDY M. of B. 249 ff. Cp. Dhṛp. 147; 337; 434; Mil. P. 410. The story of A. has so many traits in common with the Ālavaka Yaksa's that it is not strange to see how Tib. L. 315 ascribes to Aṅgulimāla — this must be meant by the Tib. *Lag-rgyem* "Haudrelic" — the erection of a monastery at Ālavi.

<sup>6</sup> Ud. p. 43; Avad. K. L., 26, 70, where she is termed a *parivāṇikā*. To her are ascribed Therīg. vv. 312—337; her history Par. Dhṛp. 228 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Two daughters of his, Subhadda the Great, and S. the Little, are mentioned Intr. JāL p. 93.



he flew in the company of 500 disciples through the sky and alighted in the courtyard of the merchant's house. All the inmates rejoiced to behold the Master and his disciples. Attentively they listened to his preaching, and the whole family along with many other people became converts. After leaving Anuraddha in Aṅga to complete the work of conversion, the Buddha reverted to Śrāvastī<sup>1</sup>.

After the narrative of the occurrences in the 20th rainy season there is in the history of the Master "an almost complete blank"<sup>2</sup>. For a period of 23 years a summary of the Buddha's proceedings is wanting, although various incidents may be held to fall within that period. In the Tibetan Life of Sakyamuni there is something like a chronological arrangement of events, but not a few of them belong, according to the Southern compilations, to earlier years.

#### 9. DEVADATTA AND AJĀTAŚATRU. CONVERSION OF AJĀTAŚATRU. DESTRUCTION OF THE ŚĀKYAS.

A new period of stirring events, — whatever may be thought of their historical character — may be said to date from the death of Bimbisāra and the accession to the throne of his parricidal son Ajātaśatru. This took place when the Buddha had reached the age of 72 years.

Already long before that epoch enmity had sprung up in the breast of Devadatta against the Lord, whose growing fame and influence filled him with jealousy<sup>3</sup>. By his supernatural power he won the favour of the Prince royal, Ajātaśatru, and by that mighty protection he hoped one day to become the leader of the Congregation of monks.

Some time afterwards, when the Lord, sojourning in the Bamboo grove, was preaching the Law, Devadatta rose from his seat, and reverentially made the proposal that the Lord, on account of his age, should leave the leadership of the Congregation of monks to him, Devadatta<sup>4</sup>. But on this request he received, three times over, a flat refusal. From that moment Devadatta harboured evil designs against the Lord.

In consequence of what had happened, the Master ordered the monks that Devadatta should be publicly denounced as one who had proved false, and whose words and deeds were not to be recognized as issuing from the Buddha, the Law, or the Congregation.

The act of denunciation was carried out by Śāriputra, accompanied by a number of monks. The exasperated Devadatta went to Ajātaśatru Vaidēhīputra and incited him to kill Bimbisāra. "Do you kill your father, and become king", said he, "and I will kill the Lord and become Buddha". The Prince lent the ear to the instigation of the traitor, and was about to carry his murderous plan into effect, when he was detected and brought before

<sup>1</sup> A remarkable Northern version of the story, in which Anāthapiṇḍika's daughter is named Samāgadhā, occurs in Tib. I. 283.

<sup>2</sup> BUDDHIST I, 260.

<sup>3</sup> For a fuller account of the growing enmity of Devadatta, his wicked deeds and punishment, we refer the reader to CV. VII, 1—4; Dhṛ. pp. 139 ff. HARDY M. of B. 318 ff. Tib. I. 278; cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 83 ff. BRAD, SBE. XIX, 246 ff. Cp. also Samy. N. I, p. 154; Aṅg. N. II, p. 73 = CV. VII, 2, 5.

<sup>4</sup> This happened according to Tib. I. 278 in the 25th rainy season. The reason adduced by D. that the Buddha was so old, is significant, as he himself was of the same age. *Sapientia* var.

the King, who magnanimously abdicated and gave over the kingdom to Ajātasatru<sup>1</sup>.

Then Devadatta went to Ajātasatru to secure for himself the Prince's support in his design to deprive Gautama of life. Having got the consent of the ruler, the traitor hired 16 men to murder the Buddha. But when the braves saw the Lord, they felt themselves so overawed that they fell at his feet, confessed their sinful intention and became converts. One man returned to Devadatta and declared that it was impossible to deprive the Lord of life. Devadatta now took to another means to accomplish his criminal design. He watched the moment when the Lord was walking in the shade below the Grdhrakūṭa mountain and hurled down a large piece of rock to crush his enemy. But two mountain peaks came together and stopped that rock, so that only a splinter caused the Lord's foot to bleed. Then the Master, looking up, said to Devadatta: "Foolish man! great is the demerit you have produced for yourself", and to the monks: "Devadatta has here committed one of the deadly sins that bring with them immediate retribution"<sup>2</sup>.

When the monks heard of the nefarious attempt of Devadatta, they were much affected and made loud recitations to protect the Lord, but he allayed their fears, saying: "It is impossible that one should deprive the Tathāgata of life by violence. The Tathāgatas reach extinction in due and natural course".

A last attempt on the Lord's life was made by Devadatta by means of the elephant Nālāgiri, whom they maddened and then let loose in the carriage road of Rājagṛha. No sooner had the infuriated animal come into the presence of the Lord, than he was pervaded by a sense of benevolence issuing from the Buddha, and lowered his trunk. Some edifying words of the Master were sufficient to wholly subdue the elephant, that took up the dust from off the Lord's feet, sprinkled it over his head and quietly retired<sup>3</sup>.

After these events Devadatta made an attempt to stir up discord in the Saṅgha<sup>4</sup>. He persuaded Kokālika, Kaṣamora-kā-tisaka, Khaṇḍadev-putta, and Samudeladatta<sup>5</sup> to go with him to the Buddha in order to request that a life of more severe asceticism should be prescribed for all members of the Congregation, viz. to live as hermits in the woods; to beg lifelong for food, without ever accepting an invitation; to clothe themselves in cast off rags; to dwell at the foot of trees; to abstain from fish and meat. The Master refused to accede to these demands, and declared that he left liberty to those who wished to live in such a manner, but that he would not make those rules obligatory for all monks.

Devadatta, who had expected this refusal, made it a pretext for agitating against the Lord. He gained over to his party 500 Vjñān monks from Vaiśālī, who having recently entered the Congregation, were ignorant of the

<sup>1</sup> We know from other sources that Bimbisāra was murdered by Ajātasatru; Digh. N. I, p. 83; Divy. p. 280; Hardy M. of B. p. 318; Tib. I. 284; ROCKHILL, op. c. 89-91.

<sup>2</sup> *Anantariya-* or *Anantariya-kamma*, coinciding with five of the six *abhiyāsa*. They are *mituṣṣāṇa*, *piṇḍa*, *anabataṇḍa*, *isāṇapāda*, and *andhabhāṇa*; S. Nip. p. 40; cp. CHANDAKA s. vr. *pañcānantiyāsa-kamma* and *abhiyāsa*. The corresponding Skt. terms of the 5 Anantariya are given Vyā. § 122; WASSILIER B. 240 has *Anantariya*. — Any one guilty of such a crime, should not be ordained, and, if he is a monk, be expelled; MV. I, 64-67.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 93; BEAL SBE. XIX, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Saṅghabeda. The tale — supposing it has an historical basis — is misplaced, since all connection between Devadatta and the Master was broken off.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently the same as the 5 Śākyas Kokālika, Kaṣamoraṇa, Tiṣya, Khaṇḍadevya, and Sagaradatta of Tib. I. 266. Whether Khaṇḍadevputta is identical with Khaṇḍadeva in Sacc. N. I, 3, 10; II, 3, 4, is not clear.

rules, and thus he created a schism. After he had gone with these followers to the Gayāsīṅga hill, it happened that he was preaching and saw Śāriputra with Maudgalyāyana in the assembly. On the erroneous supposition that they had joined his party, he invited Śāriputra to deliver a sermon, as he himself felt tired and wanted to sleep. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana now addressed the assembly and prevailed upon the 500 schismatics to return to the Buddha. When Devadatta, roused from his slumber by Kokālika, heard what had happened, the hot blood issued from his mouth.

The wickedness of Devadatta could not remain unpunished, and the Master accordingly declared to his disciples that the man who had thus been swayed by his bad passions was doomed to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and punishment<sup>1</sup>. And he, once so wise and virtuous, so bright with glory, went down to the deepest of hells, to be reborn after a Kalpa as a Pratyekabuddha, named Aṭṭhissara, or as others say, Devaśīṅga<sup>2</sup>.

King Ajātasattu, having killed his father, felt the pangs of conscience. In his anxiety and doubts, he consulted the six Tirdhikas, the adversaries of the Lord, but their teachings disappointed him. Then on the advice of Jivaka, the physician, he went to the great spiritual physician, the Tathāgata, and owing to the words of wisdom he heard from the Master's lips he became a convert to the true faith<sup>3</sup>.

During the reign of Ajātasattu, in the 7th year, the Śākya-race met with a sad fate. King Prasenajit of Kosala had a son Viḍḍabha, by Vāsabhakkhattiyā, the natural daughter of Mahāmānava, the successor of Suddhodana in Kapilavastu, and of a slave girl. It was by deceit that Vāsabhakkhattiyā had been affianced by the Śākys. When the trick afterwards was discovered, and Viḍḍabha had been slighted by the Śākys, he resolved to take revenge. With the assistance of the commander-in-chief Digha-Kāṇḍiyya he dethroned his father Prasenajit, who fled from Śrāvastī and died soon afterwards. Viḍḍabha now marched against Kapilavastu, in consequence of which the whole Śākya clan was exterminated. He himself, however, miserably perished, along with his Kosala company, by a sudden flood<sup>4</sup>.

In the N. version of the story Viḍḍabha is named Virūḍhaka, his mother Mālīkā<sup>5</sup>, and the commander-in-chief Digha-Cūṇḍiyya. In spite of other variations, the main features of the tale are the same<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Apāyiko varāṇāsi*. There are 4 Apāyas: *varāṇāsi*, hell, purgatory; *varāṇāsi*, the world of spectres; *varāṇāsi*, the world of demons; *varāṇāsi*, the state of brute; see CHILDERS s. vv. In Lal. V. 238 the number of Apāyas is three.

<sup>2</sup> Mil. P. 111; Dh. p. 148; BEAL SBE. 248; ROCKHILL op. c. 107; HARV M. of B. 328. Fa Hsien, Kuo. p. 60, saw in Śrāvastī the very spot where Devadatta went down to hell. How he came in Śrāvastī is left unexplained in the N. tradition, which, indeed, represents him as continuing his wicked attempts after the conversion of Ajātasattu. Aṭṭhissara means "the Lord of 16" (of course *kaṭṭhā*).

<sup>3</sup> Samasāhaph. S. in different versions; cp. above p. 32, note. The reappearance there of Parāga-Kāṇḍiyya, notwithstanding his previous death, has nothing in it to surprise us. For what kind of *historical* value the Buddhist authorities attach to such tales, is egregiously exemplified by the fact that the six heretical teachers reappear on the scene in the days of Nāgasena and the King Menander — as busy and mischievous as ever; Mil. P. pp. 4 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Jāt. IV, pp. 144 ff. Dh. pp. 216—225; cp. HARV M. of B. 283.

<sup>5</sup> SCHIEFFER, Tib. L. 287; Mallot. Both renderings of Tib. Phreng-can are admissible, *Phreng* answering to Sar. *mālī*.

<sup>6</sup> Tib. L. l. c.; ROCKHILL op. 75—79; 122—122. Mālīkā, the flower girl — the spelling in the text is Mālīkā — is not unknown to the Pali writings as one of Prasenajit's queens, but she is not the mother of Viḍḍabha. For her history see Jāt. III, 405 ff. Cp. IV, 437; Ud. V. 1; Mil. P. 115; 291; Sūy. N. III, 1, 8; Dh. p. 317; M. of B. 283. Another Mālīkā is the wife of Bandhula; Jāt. IV, 148; Dh. p. 218. A

10. EVENTS IN THE LAST YEAR. AJĀTAŚATRU AND THE VĀJĪANS. BUDDHA LEAVES RAJAGṚHĪA. JOURNEY TO PĀṬALIGRĀMA. CROSSING OF THE GANGES. ĀMRAPĀLI. ILLNESS OF BUDDHA. STAY AT VAISĀLI. DEATH OF ŚĀRIPUṬRA AND MAUDGALYĀYANA. MEAL AT CUNDA'S AND CONSEQUENT SICKNESS. ARRIVAL AT KUSINĀRĀ. INSTRUCTIONS TO ĀNANDA. CONVERSION OF SUBHADRA. PARINIRVĀṆA. CREMATION OF THE CORPSE. PARTITION OF THE RELICS<sup>1</sup>.

When the Lord had reached his 79th year and was sojourning on the Gḍhṛakūṭa near Rājagṛha, Ajātaśatru intended making war upon the Vṛjians of Vaiśālī. Before carrying his designs into the effect, he sent the Brahman Varsakāra to the Buddha with his respectful greetings and the humble demand to be informed as to the issue of his undertaking. When the envoy had come into the presence of the Tathāgata, and delivered his message, the Master asked Ānanda whether the Vṛjians were living in concord, and whether they were virtuous and religious in their conduct. On the satisfactory answer of Ānanda, the Buddha turned to Varsakāra and said: "So long as the Vṛjians behave themselves in such a laudable way, their prosperity will increase and not decline". Then Varsakāra intimated his conviction that the King of Magadha would be powerless against the Vṛjians and departed.

One day, after explaining to his disciples the merits of morality, mental concentration (*śamādhi*) and wisdom, the Master said to Ānanda: "Come, Ānanda, let us go to Āmbalaṭṭhikā"<sup>2</sup>. And the Lord went with a large company of monks to that place. After staying there for a short time, he proceeded to Nālandā, where he took up his abode in the Pāvārika Mango grove, repeating the lessons he had given on the Gḍhṛakūṭa.

From Nālandā the Lord proceeded to Pāṭali-grāma. There he pronounced in the rest house to the laity a discourse on the merits of the five moral precepts. Before leaving the village he predicted that one day it would become the mighty city of Pāṭaliputra, but at the same time that three great dangers would befall it.

When the Lord came to the Ganges, the river was brimming. Whilst some were looking for boats, others for rafts, the Buddha vanished and at once stood with the whole company of monks on the opposite bank. He continued his journey to Kuṣīgrāma, further to Nādikā, everywhere repeating his discourse on morality, mental concentration and wisdom. From Nādikā he continued his journey to Vaiśālī, where he sojourned at the Mango grove of Āmrāpālī, teaching and exhorting his disciples<sup>3</sup>.

When the courtesan Āmrāpālī heard that the Lord had arrived and was

similar, though not the same figure is Mallā, reborn as the daughter of Kṛtin. *Mhv.* I. pp. 390 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Chief source of the following narrative is the *Mahāparinibbāna-S.* ed. by CHANUSSE *JRAS* of 1874-1876; transl. by Prof. RHYs DAVIES in *SRE.* XI, in whose *Intr.* p. XXXV the parallel passages are collected; Chinese versions mentioned p. XXXVI ff. For the Tibetan versions see ROCKHILL *op. cit.* p. 123 ff. Cp. *REAL. SUE.* XIX, 250 ff. *BIGANDET II.* 1-95; *ILABY M.* of B. 343 ff. WINDSCH Māra and II. pp. 43-86.

<sup>2</sup> Between Rājagṛha and Nālandā; see E. N. MÜLLER in *JPTS* 8. v.

<sup>3</sup> At that time Śaṇḍha (answering to a Skt. *Saṇḍha*) and Varsakāra were building a fortress to check the Vṛjians; *MPS.* I. 26; *MV.* VI, 28; *Ul.* VIII, 6. Cp. ROCKHILL *op. cit.* p. 127, note.

<sup>4</sup> To this period may be referred the question of Viśuddhimati to the Master in the Grove of Āmrāpālī, related *Mhv.* II, 293.

staying in her Mango grove, she went with a splendid train in her carriage to near the entrance of the grove, where she alighted to proceed on foot to the place where the Master was. After hearing his edifying lessons, she invited him with the monks to come next day to her house in order to take the meal. The invitation was accepted. On the same day the Licchavi grandees came with the same invitation, and when the Tathāgata told them that he refused because he had already accepted the invitation of Āmrapālī, they could not but acknowledge that they were outdone by the courtesan.

On the following day Āmrapālī entertained her distinguished guests, and, after the meal, she presented her grove to the Congregation having for its chief the Buddha<sup>1</sup>.

From Vaiśālī<sup>2</sup> the Master went to a village in the neighbourhood of that city, Beluva, where he spent his last Retreat. There a severe illness befell him, but by a strong effort of his will he recovered soon; yet he felt that now at the age of 80 years his end was approaching. One day after the rainy season he walked with Ānanda to the Cāpālā Shrine. He intimated to his disciple that, if he desired he could through his miraculous power remain in the same existence for a Kalpa, but Ānanda, whose heart was possessed by Māra, did not understand the hint and did not beseech the Master to remain for a Kalpa. Not only Ānanda, the Buddha himself was tempted by Māra, urging him to pass away from existence. The Tathāgata replied that he would not die until his law should be firmly established, and when the Fiend remarked that the Law was already established and widely spread, the Lord answered: "Be content, Fiend, the final extinction of the Tathāgata shall take place ere long. At the end of three months hence the Tathāgata will die"<sup>3</sup>.

After staying at that place some time, explaining to Ānanda many matters connected with the Law, the Master proceeded to the Kāṣṭhāgāra hall in the Mahāvāna. There, too, he was untired in exhorting and teaching the disciples. The same he did in the following stations of his journey.

It was about this time — if we may trust a N. tradition — that Śāriputra died, and immediately after Maudgalyāyana<sup>4</sup>. A S. account assigns to their death nearly the same date, a week after the Buddha had spent the rainy season in Beluva<sup>5</sup>. According to another N. tradition again, the two chief disciples died shortly after a visit to Devadatta in hell<sup>6</sup>.

When the Buddha had reached Pāvā, he resided there in the Mango grove of Cunda, the smith. This man invited the Master to do him the honour of partaking of a meal at his house next day. The invitation was accepted, and the smith prepared the meal, consisting of rice with cakes and

<sup>1</sup> In MV. VI, 30 it is to Kosiya that the courtesan came to invite the Buddha. The transposition is, perhaps, due to the consideration that he could not properly sojourn in the grove of Āmrapālī, before having received it in donation. Cp. BEAL op. c. 252. The grove is mentioned Fa Hian Rec. p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> MV. VI, 31 contains the meeting of Buddha with Sīgha (Sihā), the generalissimo of the Licchavis, and the conversion of the latter, but this event probably belongs to a former period, though in BEAL op. c. 258 it likewise immediately follows on the meeting with Āmrapālī; cp. Tib. I. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the redaction in Divy. Chap. XVII, where the Lord is represented as staying in the Kāṣṭhāgāra hall near the bank of the Monkey tank (Mārkaṣṭhāra). Cp. BEAL op. c. 267; WUNDERLICH.

<sup>4</sup> Tib. I. 289.

<sup>5</sup> BUDDHAR II, 9—26. There is much confusion in that account; should we read there Vaiśālī and Mahāvāna for Sāvastī and Jetavana?

<sup>6</sup> ROCKHILL op. c. 110.

pork. When the Lord had come and was seated, he took for himself the pork, leaving to the disciples the other food. After the dinner he desired Cunda to bury what was left of the pork, because no one in the world could digest such food except the Tathāgata. Soon after it the Buddha was seized with a violent attack of dysentery. On his way to Kusinārā<sup>1</sup> he felt extremely weak, and, wishing to sit down, he commended Ānanda to spread out the robe for him, and to fetch him some water to drink. Ānanda went to the stream which had just become muddy by passing carts, and found it to his astonishment clear and limpid<sup>2</sup>. Gladly he returned to the Master, who drank of the water.

At that time it happened that a young Malla, Pukkusa<sup>3</sup>, a disciple of Ājara Kālāma's, passed the road from Kusinārā to Pāvā. On seeing the Lord he approached him, and recorded how on a certain occasion Ājara had proved by his example what incredible degree of composure and power of abstraction can be reached by one who has renounced the world. The Tathāgata, having heard the story, told a much more wonderful case from his own experience, so that Pukkusa declared that now he had lost his faith in Ājara, and became a convert to the true faith. Forthwith he directed somebody to fetch a pair of pieces of gold cloth. When the pair was brought, Pukkusa offered both pieces to the Lord, who took one for himself, the other for Ānanda<sup>4</sup>.

After this occurrence the Master proceeded to the river Kakuthā, where he took a bath. Then he crossed the river and went on, preaching, to the Mango grove, and thence to a grove in the Malla country, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, on the other side of the Hiranyavati. There between the twin Śāl trees a couch was spread by Ānanda, with the place for the head to the North, and the Lord laid himself down on his right side, like a lion, with one leg resting on the other<sup>5</sup>.

The last hours before the Lord's Parinirvāṇa were spent by him in useful counsels and instructions to Ānanda. Among other topics he spoke of the four places which the pious believer ought to visit with feelings of holy reverence: the place where the Tathāgata is born; the place where he has reached perfect Enlightenment; the place where for the first time he proclaims the Law; the place of his final extinction. He dilated on the merits of pilgrimage<sup>6</sup> to those places and declared: "They who shall die on such a pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death in the happy realms of heaven".

On the question of Ānanda what ceremonies were to be performed after his demise, he answered that the disciples should not trouble themselves about it, because there were enough believers in the highest classes of society who would not fail to honour the remains of the Tathāgata, in the same manner as one honours the remains of a Cakravartin. And he described to Ānanda the ceremonies performed after the death of a Cakravartin. He added that

<sup>1</sup> Skt. Kusinagara, "nagara, and Kusinagara; see *Jet. Dict.* s. vv.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether this stream is the Kakutha or Kakuṭṭha, as HARDY M. of B. 356; BOHASSET II, 39, and ROCKHILL op. c. 134 have it. We shall meet with the K. again as the river where Buddha bathed; cp. *Ud.* VIII, 5. In Tib. I. 291 it is the Hiranyavati where he bathed.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Tib. I. 291. The "young" Malla must have been at least 65 years of age, his teacher having died 45 years ago.

<sup>4</sup> A little further on, vs. 52 of the text, the Buddha is said to be clad with both robes; herewith agrees Tib. I. 291.

<sup>5</sup> This is the posture of the images which represent Buddha's Nirvāṇa. — Cp. for this passage and the sequel *BEAL SBE. XIX, 286 ff.*

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *Alg. N. II, p. 120.*



four kinds of men are worthy of a Stupa: a Tathāgata; a Pratyeka-buddha; a disciple of the Tathāgata; and a Cakravartin<sup>1</sup>.

After these instructions Ānanda was painfully affected by the thought of his impending separation from the Master, and weeping he went into the Vihāra<sup>2</sup>, but the Lord sent for him, comforted him, and praised his virtues in the presence of the brethren.

When the Lord had finished his discourse, Ānanda emitted the opinion that it would hardly become the dignity of the Tathāgata to die in so small a town situated in a waste tract of country, and that one of the 6 great cities, Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrīvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, or Benares<sup>3</sup>, would be a fitter place. But the Master showed him that Kusiṇārā, being in former times the royal city of Kusāvati, was the most becoming place. Thereupon he ordered Ānanda to go and inform the Mallas of Kusiṇārā that in the last watch of the night the final extinction of the Tathāgata would take place, and to invite them not to let pass the opportunity of seeing the Tathāgata in his last moments. The Mallas, on receiving the message, hastened to the place where the Lord was lying, and were admitted in his presence.

Now there lived at that time a heretical monk, named Subhadda (Subhadda). Having heard that the Śramaṇa Gautama should attain to final extinction in the last watch of the night, he felt a longing to visit the Buddha. He went to the place where Ānanda was and asked for admittance. The disciple refused, out of care for the Master, but the latter ordered him to admit Subhadda, who was not come to annoy him, but from a desire of enlightenment. Subhadda accordingly came into the presence of the Lord, and after hearing an edifying discourse, more especially on the eightfold Path and the four stages of the path to Nirvāṇa, became a convert. He was the last disciple whom the Lord himself converted. In a very short time Subhadda reached Nirvāṇa<sup>4</sup>.

The last moments of the Tathāgata were taken up with exhortations to keep faithfully to the rules of the Order, which after his demise would be to them in his stead. Further he gave indications concerning their future behaviour, and asked them whether there was any one among the brethren who had some lingering doubt as to the Buddha, the Law, the Congregation, or the four stages. There was none, as the Master knew full well beforehand.

Then the Lord spoke these words to his brethren: "Now, monks, I have nothing more to tell you but that all that is composed is liable to decay. Strive after salvation energetically!" These were the last words of the Tathāgata<sup>5</sup>.

Thereupon the Lord entered into the first stage of meditation (Dhyāna); from that he passed into the second, the third, the fourth, successively. Out of the fourth stage he entered into the stage of the infinity of space; thence into the stage of the infinity of thought; thence into the stage of nothingness; thence into the stage of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness; finally into the stage in which consciousness has wholly passed away<sup>6</sup>.

Then Ānanda said to Anuruddha: "The Lord is dead, Anuruddha!"

<sup>1</sup> In Aig. N. I. p. 77 only two: a Tathāgata and a Cakravartin.

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear what is here meant with this term.

<sup>3</sup> The 6 cities, though not named, also occur in Tib. I. 291. Cp. *paṇṇapari*, Varis. on Pāṇi VIII, 4, 42.

<sup>4</sup> It is likewise said in Tib. I. 293 that Subhadda dies immediately after having attained Arhatship; so, too, Voy. II, 339. Cp. *ROKONUL* op. c. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Somewhat different in Ver. I, 341.

<sup>6</sup> These stages are also represented as certain immaterial worlds. Cp. Tib. I. 292.

"No, Ānanda, the Lord is not dead: he has reached the stage of complete unconsciousness".

Now the Lord passed from the stage of complete unconsciousness into that of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness; thence into the stage of nothingness; thence into that of the infinity of thought; thence into that of the infinity of space; further into the 4th, 3d, 2d, 1st stage of meditation, successively. Then again he passed into the 2d stage, thence into the 3d, thence into the 4th stage of meditation. And immediately on passing out of that stage he was extinguished.

The death of the Lord was attended with an earthquake and thunder-strokes. Brahmā Sahampati and Sakra, as well as Ānanda and Anuruddha uttered appropriate stanzas. Some of the monks who were not yet completely emancipated from passion wailed and lamented: "Too soon has the Lord died! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!" But others, more advanced, bore their loss with resignation, because they knew that all composite things are impermanent.

At the end of the night Anuruddha sent Ānanda to inform the Mallas of the Master's decease. When the Mallas, who then were assembled in the Council hall heard the tidings, they, with their wives and children, gave marks of deep sorrow, and ordered the attendants to gather in Kusināra perfumes, garlands, and all sorts of musical instruments. When the mourning crowd had come to the spot where the body of the Lord lay in the Sala grove, they past the day in paying honour to the remains of the Tathāgata with dancing, hymns and music. This was repeated on the following days until on the seventh day the corpse was carried by 8 Malla chieftains, among a rain of heavenly Mandāra flowers, to the shrine called Makuta-bandhanā, where the funeral pile was raised.

When four Malla chieftains tried to set the pile on fire, they were not able to do so. In their amazement they asked Anuruddha the cause of that unexpected case. He informed them that the pile would not be set on fire until the arrival of Kāśyapa the Great, who was just travelling on the road from Pāvā to Kusināra, with a company of monks. And, in fact, Kāśyapa was coming, as he had heard, from an Ājīvaka monk, who had picked up a Mandāra flower, that "the Scramana Gautama" died a week ago. Kāśyapa hastened to the spot where the funeral pile had been raised, and there he with his company ceremoniously walked thrice round the pile, and bowed down at the feet of the Lord<sup>1</sup>. No sooner had this act of piety been performed, than the pile caught fire of itself<sup>2</sup>.

As soon as the fire had consumed the body of the Tathāgata, with exception of the bones, and a rain from heaven had extinguished the flames, the Mallas paid honour to the relics with dancing, singing and music, with garlands and perfumes.

When Ajātasatru heard the tidings that the Lord had departed this life, he forwarded a claim for obtaining the possession of a portion of the relics. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī asked for themselves the same prerogative, likewise the Śākya of Kapilavastu<sup>3</sup>, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kolijyas of Rāmagrāma, the Mallas of Pāvā, and a Brahman of Vethādīpa, all of them promising to

<sup>1</sup> EVANSCHOFF II, 88 has some details regarding the feet of Buddha; cp. Dhrt. I, 67, where the feet are described as *akāraṇaśāntaśānta*.

<sup>2</sup> A Northern account closely agreeing in Mh. I, 64 ff.

<sup>3</sup> These had been exterminated by Vidyakabha, but in Buddhist writings the dead are apt to reappear as often as their presence is needed. The revival of the famous six Tirthikas is a similar case in point.

erect a Stūpa over the relics. At first the Malas of Kusinārā were unwilling to give away any part of the relics, but by an impressive speech of the Brahman Droṇa (Doṇa), who reminded them how the Buddha had always taught forbearance, and by his counsel to divide the relics into eight equal portions, so that Stūpas should rise everywhere to spread the belief in the Buddha, the parties were soothed. They entreated Droṇa to divide the relics into eight equal portions, and so he did, keeping for himself the urn over which he built a shrine<sup>1</sup>.

After the event came a messenger of the Mauryas of Pippalivana to ask for a portion of the relics. No portion being left, the Mauryas had to content themselves with the coals, over which they erected a shrine<sup>2</sup>.

Thus there were then 8 Stūpas: in Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Rāmagrāma, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā, and Kusinārā, besides the shrines erected by Droṇa and the Mauryas.

In the preceding pages the principal facts in the legendary life of the Buddha have been commemorated. A disquisition into the historical or other elements entering into its composition lies beyond the scope of this manual, wherefore we must refer the reader to other works<sup>3</sup>.

## PART III

### THE LAW OF THE BUDDHA.

#### 1. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

When the Buddha had taken possession of the seat of full enlightenment, he evolved from within two formulas, ever since revealed by him to all beings, and represented as the fundamental truths of his teaching. These formulas are the four Āryasatyāni<sup>4</sup> and the twelvefold Pratīyasaṃutpāda.

The four Satyāni, i. e. Axioms or Certainities, summarily denoted by the four terms *duḥkha*, suffering, *saṃudaya*, cause, *nirudha*, suppression, and *pratipad* or *mārga*, path, way, state it as undeniable that there is suffering; that suffering necessarily has a cause; that in order to suppress the evil one must know the right way<sup>5</sup>.

It is not difficult to see that these four Satyas are nothing else but the four cardinal articles of Indian medical science, applied to the spiritual healing

<sup>1</sup> In Divy. 380 the Droṇastūpa was erected by Ajātasattu. It may be surmised that the term *Droṇastūpa* has given birth to the Brahman Droṇa. BURROUF Intr. 372, note, is of another opinion.

<sup>2</sup> The partition of the relics is told much in the same manner in the N. version; see ROCKHILL op. c. Cp. also BEAL SBE. XIX, p. 325—334, and Fa Hien Rec. chs. XXVIII and XXIV, with Pl. IX.

<sup>3</sup> More especially to BRUNANT's *Légende du Buddha* and OROUSSEAU's *Buddha; his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*, in which the problem has been treated, if not with uncontroversial results, at least with considerable skill and great learning.

<sup>4</sup> These are taught by all Buddhas; see e. g. Therag. vs. 492.

<sup>5</sup> The theme is worked out in the first sermon addressed to the 5 mendicant friars MV. I, 6, 19; I. II. V. 540; and in other passages, e. g. Majjh. N. 1, p. 48.

of mankind, exactly as in the Yoga doctrine'. This connection of the Āryasatya with medical science was apparently not unknown to the Buddhists themselves, for in Lal. V. p. 448 we find immediately after the announcement of the discovery of the two formulas the significant words: "*utpanno vaidyārājāḥ prameśakāḥ sarvaduḥkhābhayaḥ, pratiṣṭhāpako nirvāṇasukhe, niṣyannas Tathāgata-garbhe Tathāgatamukhādharmaśāśane*". And again p. 458:

cittānuc jñāloke kleśavādhipaptāṭite |  
vaidyārāj; tvay samuṭpannoḥ sarvavyādhiprameśakāḥ §

The second formula, the Concatenation of causes and effects, the twelve-fold Prāṭhyasamutpāda or causal production, otherwise termed "the 12 Nidānas (causes)" is intended to lay bare the root of evil, and stands to the 4 Satyas in the same relation as Pathology, (Nidāna or Nidāna-śāstra), to the whole system of medical science. The terms of the series are: *avidyā*, ignorance; *saṃskārā*, impressions; *viññāna*, clear consciousness; *nāmarūpa*, name-and-form<sup>1</sup>; *saḍāyatana*, the six organs of sense; *spṛṣṭa*, contact (of the senses with exterior objects); *vedanā*, feeling; *trṣṇā*, desire; *upādāna*, clinging, effort<sup>2</sup>; *bhava*, becoming, beginning of existence; *jāti*, birth, existence; *jarāmaraṇam*, *śokaparidevanuduḥkhadaurmanasyoparādāḥ*, old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, despondency<sup>3</sup>.

It seems probable that the whole series, in which the difference between the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc* is utterly ignored, is, like the corresponding Yoga tenet, stating *avidyā* to be the ultimate cause of *duḥkha*<sup>4</sup>, an imitation or adaptation of some ancient cosmogonical myth, poetically describing the creation, and the destruction of the world, i. e. the successive stages in the daily phenomena, beginning when light emerges out of darkness, the world out of chaos, up to the end of day after its troubles. A similar adaptation is the Pratyaya-sarga of the Sāṅkhya, the very name of which suggests some connection with the Prāṭhyasamutpāda. The connection, however, is not such as to warrant the assumption of a mutual dependence between the Buddhist and the Sāṅkhya series; we only surmise that both systems derive from a common remote source<sup>5</sup>.

When we try to connect the twelvefold formula with cosmogonical notions, we arrive at the following conclusions. *Avidyā*, ignorance, is the

1 E. g. in Yogasūtra II, 15. Comm.: "yathā cikinśāstram caturvyūham: rogo, ragabhoṭa, ārogyam, bhāṣāṣyam itī, evam idam api śāstram caturvyūham eva, tadvyūhā: saṃskārāḥ, saṃskārābhoṭa, mokṣo, mokṣopāya itī. Tatra dūḥkhakāraṇatāy saṃsāra heyaḥ; pradhānaparavṛttau saṃyogo heyaḥetuh; saṃyogastāntyantiḥ nīrttir hānam; bhāṣāṣyāḥ saṃyogāśāśanam". Cp. Sarvad. Saṅg. p. 120. Hence follows that the activity of *avidyā*, which as being an evolution of *pradhāna* belongs to *pratyak*, ceases at the *nīrti* of the union; in other words: the activity of the *Buddhi* ceases; at Nirvāṇa or Nirvṇi (which looks like an intentional substitution for Nirrti).

2 I. e. all physical and mental phenomena, the same as *paṭicca S. Nip.* p. 95. and consequently = *saṃyā*. In an idealistic system like Buddhism the phenomena are, of course, no realities. Since every human body consists of an aggregate of physical and mental elements, of the 5 Skandhas, such a being can be designed as *nāmasrūpa*.

3 The definition Majjh. N. I, p. 266 is: *jā veṇiṇim naṃvā, tad upādānam*; as to the 4 Upādānas, see there p. 66; cp. p. 51, and Saṃy. N. II, p. 3.

4 MV. I. 1; Lal. V. 442 ff. Lams p. 109; and the references in Continues 2. v. *paṭiccasamutpāda*, and *Dhammas. XII*, note.

5 Yogasū. II, 15: "duḥkham eva sarvaṃ vivṛkṣimāḥ", on which the Comment: "tad asya saṃhato dūḥkhasamudāyasya prabhāvanīyam aśāḍḍ"; cp. II, 4: "avidyā kṛtrem uttareṣām".

6 It is not in the Pratyaya-sarga, but in the Sāṅkhya theory of creation that there is a partial parallelism to be discovered between the Buddhist and the Sāṅkhya system; as follows:

state of not-knowing, of sleep. An allusion to this state of man is found in Lal. V. p. 458:

cinapessuṇṇam leṇay lokam tamahakkandhāvagaṇṭhitan |  
bhavaṃ jñāṇapradīpeṇa samantathā pattiṇodhātum ||

Man at first awaking enters into a state of half-consciousness; his mind is affected by vague impressions (*ajñānārasa*) before he has reached the state of clear consciousness. Then the phenomena appear to him, and the activity of his organs of sense commences. By the contact of the organs with some exterior object (either real or ideal) a certain feeling or sensation is produced. Feeling leads to the wish (*trṣṇā*) of getting what seems desirable, and that wish, steadily increasing<sup>1</sup> produces a strong clinging and effort to bring about a state of things differing from the present state. So a new state begins, and immediately after the process of becoming, of transition, the new existence springs to light. That existence, having a beginning, must also have an end, which is ushered in, so to say, by all kinds of misery<sup>2</sup>.

The Northern Buddhist know more than one explanation of the process. The next approach to the interpretation just proposed is that prevailing in the Kārmika school<sup>3</sup>. It can be formulated as follows: from false knowledge spring delusive impressions; from these, general notions; from them, particulars; from them, the six seats of the senses; from them, contact; from it, definite sensation; from it, desire; from it, embryonic existence; from it, actual physical existence; from it, all the distinctions of genus and species among animate things; from them, decay and death. According to another theory<sup>4</sup> the series represents the history of human life, in twelve acts; a history beginning *ab ovo* or even earlier, and ending with decay and death. The root of all is Avidyā, i. e. the error of deeming transient things to be permanent; from error spring Saṃskāras, affections, temporary dispositions, as love, hate and infatuation; from them springs Vijñāna, incipient consciousness of the embryo; from this proceeds Nāmarūpam, i. e. the rudimentary body consisting of *nāman*, earth and the other three elements, and *rūpa*, form<sup>5</sup>. Thence proceed the Saṃjñāyatana, organs of the senses; when the organs come in conjunction with Name-and-Form, there is Spṛśa, contact. Thence follows Vedanā, feeling, sensation; then arises Trṣṇā, longing (for renewal of pleasant feeling and desire to shun what is painful). Hence Upādāna, effort, beginning of action; then Bhava, state (of merit or demerit). Then comes Jāti, birth, i. e. the aggregation of the 5 Skandhas. On birth will follow decay, death, etc.

A recent discovery<sup>6</sup> among the frescoes of the caves of Ajanta has

Avidyā	parall.	Pradhāna
Saṃskāras	"	Buddhi
Vijñāna	"	Ahaṃkāra
Nāmarūpam	"	Tanmāstrīṇi
Saṃjñāyatana	"	Indriyāṅga

<sup>1</sup> *Upādāna* also means "fuel".

<sup>2</sup> For a totally different translation and explanation see Prof. Rhys Davids and Carpenter in SBE. XI, pp. 75 ff., and the latter's "Buddha" (Engl. transl. p. 226 ff.); Carpenter in "Life and Essays of Colebrooke" II, p. 453; BIGANTSET I, 93. Cfr. also BRAS SBE. XIX, 161.

<sup>3</sup> HODGSON Ess. p. 79. The Nidānas with exception of the first and last term are called the 10 Karmans, Actis.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned by Govindanandana in the Tika on Brāhma-Sūtra p. 549.

<sup>5</sup> HODGSON l. c.: "thence proceeds an organised and definite, but archetypal body, the seat of that consciousness".

<sup>6</sup> By L. A. WADSWELL, in whose paper "Buddha's Secret from a sixth century Pictorial commentary and Tibetan Tradition" in JRAS of 1894, p. 367 and Buddh. of TB. 105-121, we refer the reader.

brought to light a picture which portrays the Nidānas in concrete form. This picture, supplemented by its Tibetan versions and its explanation by the Lamas, shows unmistakably a diagram of Human Life. This agrees with the theory known to Govindānanda, notwithstanding discrepancies in the rendering of some terms in the Wheel of Life. Whether we may see in it "a complete authentic account of human life from the absolute standpoint of the earliest Buddhist philosophy"<sup>1</sup> does not seem to be beyond all doubt. This much, however, is plain that the purport of the *Prāṭītya-saṃsaṃpāda* is to show how all evil, death &c. ultimately springs from *Avidyā*. Formally this does not differ from the Yoga axiom: "Avidyā is the germ from which the whole mass of evil proceeds", but the sentiment underlying the phrase is another. For the Yoga philosopher has a craving for permanency, he is a *śaśvataśūdrin*. Hence all that is impermanent and changeable is to him an evil<sup>2</sup>, and therefore he seeks after true knowledge, the right insight that the *puruṣa* is in reality not affected by its union with *prakṛti*, and that it is only *avidyā*, the wrong notion, about that union which is the cause of evil and grief.

The two fundamental formulas, to which may be added the stanza "*½ dharmā ādāyapabbhāṣā*"<sup>3</sup>, do not presuppose the belief in retribution and rebirth, the *Karman* theory, nor do they contain anything decidedly opposed to it. The same can not be said of the Buddhist doctrine regarding the *Ātman*, self, soul, individuality.

A concise and clear exposition of the three principal contending theories regarding *Ātman* is found in Pugg. P. p. 38<sup>4</sup>. These theories are the *Sarvataśūdrā*, the *Ucchatarāḍa*, and the doctrine of Buddha. The first holds that the soul is truly existing, both in this life and in the life to come; the second, that the soul is truly existing, but only in this life; the Buddha teaches that soul is not truly existing, neither in this life, nor in the life to come<sup>5</sup>.

The categorical and absolute denial of an *ātman* is evidently in conflict with the common Hindu view of *karman*, which is based upon the assumption of the existence of a soul. Therefore the Buddhists could not adopt the theory in their own system without modifications. The shape which the dogma has received under their hands is admirably described by CHIDDERS<sup>6</sup>: "When a man dies the khandhas of which he is constituted perish, but by the force of his Kamma a new set of khandhas instantly starts into existence, and a new being appears in another world, who though possessing different khandhas and a different form is in reality identical with the man just passed away, because his Kamma is the same. Kamma then is the link that preserves the

<sup>1</sup> WADDELL op. c. p. 370. Curious is the interpretation of *Maṇa*. It is "pictured by a married woman; and the Lamas explain the picture by saying that she is the wife of the individual whose life-history is being traced". Cp. the phrase *tanhā jīvati puruṣas* Samy. N. I, p. 37. This explains, to a certain extent, how *sañjānati* and *janitā*, Skr. *janitā* (Lat. V. 541) "natural impulse" are nearly synonymous with *tanhā*. Dh-Saṅgīti 1039, where *bhava*, however is not taken in a realistic or material conception, as may be inferred from 1312, where *ābhavambhā* is explained as "*ye bhāvaṃ ābhavācchanda*", and *ābhavāpatti* 1313 as "*ābhavāpatti atā sa loka sātī samāpā āpatti*".

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *paṇa āmāsaṃ dukkhāya* is Buddhist also, c. g. Samy. N. II, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> So above p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Digh. N. I, pp. 12 ff., 35 ff. and Samy. N. III, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> CHIDDERS s. v. *ucchata* has the following remark: "This doctrine was held in great abhorrence by the Buddhists, being directly antagonistic to the whole spirit and scheme of Buddhism". This is not very clear. If the *ucchatarāḍa*, admitting the existence of the soul, albeit only for this life, strikes at the root of the transmigration theory, then Buddhism, denying the existence of soul altogether, does so with double force.

<sup>6</sup> Dict. s. v. *ātmanā*.



identity of a being through all the countless changes which it undergoes in its progress through Samsāra".

Such a theory, it will be admitted, is beyond the reach of human reason, but that is no argument against its appropriateness in the original system of the creed. For Buddhism is professedly no rationalistic system, it being a super-human (*uttarimanussa*) Law founded upon the decrees of an omniscient and infallible Master, and in such a creed mysteries are admissible. A somewhat greater difficulty arises if we wish to reconcile the maxim *sarvam anityam*, "all is impermanent", with this theory; for if all is impermanent, the Karman can not be productive *ad infinitum*. Yet, even this difficulty can be got rid of, on the assumption that the phrase is only a certain way of speaking to denote that all is changeable except the ideal link connecting the successive stages of being. It is less easy to account for such examples of punishment as are related of Cīcā and others, who are represented as being swallowed by the earth and going down to hell before the eyes of all present. Does this belong to the mythology of the creed? If so, why should not the Karman theory pertain to the same category?

The more we try to remove the difficulties, the more we are driven to the suspicion that original Buddhism was not exactly that of the canonical books. If we suppose that the teaching of the founder of the Order was free from mythology and the Karman theory, we get a system intelligible, self-consistent and perfectly apt to lead persons possessing a contemplative bent of mind, by means of a dignified and harmless solitary and cenobitic mode of life, to the blissful state of calm beatitude, called Nirvāṇa<sup>2</sup>, a state only surpassed by the final Nirvāṇa or Parinirvāṇa, when all suffering is absolutely and for ever at an end<sup>3</sup>.

Whatever may be our doubts about the original form of Buddhism, it is certain that the dogma in question made part and parcel of the whole system of Dharma before the great bulk of the canonical books were composed. The hypothesis that in course of time some elements were incorporated into the creed to which originally they were foreign, does not involve the belief in a radical change. In our view Buddhism was from the very beginning *essentially* such as we find it in the Tripitaka; a creed aptly characterized<sup>4</sup> in the following words: "As a philosophy, Buddhism thus seems to be an Idealistic Nihilism; an Idealism which, like that of Berkeley, holds that "the fruitful source of all error was the unfounded belief in the reality and existence of the external world"; and that man can perceive nothing but his feelings, and is the cause to himself of these. That all known or knowable objects are relative to a conscious subject, and merely a product of the ego, existing through the ego, for the ego, and in the ego<sup>5</sup>. But, unlike Berkeley's Idealism, this recognition of the relativity and limitations of knowledge, and the consequent disappearance of the world as a reality, led directly to Nihilism, by seeming to exclude the knowledge, and by implication the existence, not only of a Creator, but of an absolute Being<sup>6</sup>."

<sup>2</sup> For a scholastic exposition of the theory see Mil. P. 40 ff. Cp. HARRY M. of B. 396 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. the *apāṇāsa-* or *asupāṇāsa* Nirvāṇa, the *śūnnyasūtra* of the Hīnaya, whereas the final N. is *anupāṇāsa*; see CHILDERS s. v. The definition of *anupāṇāsa nibbāna-dhāra* in Itiv. p. 38 is wrong, and in glaring conflict with the words in the stanza there: *anupāṇāsa pīṇa ānuparāpikā paṇhi nirajjhanti bhāṇāni sabbāsu*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WASSILIEF B. 94.

<sup>5</sup> By WADDELL, op. s. p. 384.

<sup>6</sup> This is Vedānta.

<sup>7</sup> Nihilism is tersely expressed in S. Nip. p. 203: "natthi ajjātaṃ ca bhavedāhaṃ ca bhūtaṃ paṇḍita"; cp. p. 194: "nassatvā nīlāya sarasaṃ gahapā".

## 2. THE ELEMENTS OF EXISTENCE. KARMAN. THE ROAD TO DELIVERANCE.

Every organized being consists of Name and Form. The former denotes all mental or internal phenomena; the latter, all physical or external phenomena<sup>1</sup>. *Nāman* generally includes four of the five Skandhas, viz. *vedanā*, feeling; *saññā*, notion; *samskāra*, mental dispositions, and *viññāṇa*, clear consciousness, discrimination. *Rūpa* comprehends the four elements (*mahābhūta*): earth, water, fire, air, and every form springing from them<sup>2</sup>.

It appears from this enumeration that *Nāmarūpa* and the 5 Skandhas are coextensive terms. The definition of the mental Skandhas is attended with considerable difficulties, owing to the ambiguousness of most terms, and the loose way in which they are used. Not to go farther than the Pāli texts, we see how *saññā*, notion or first perception, and *vedanā*, feeling, sensation, form each a separate Khandha and at the same time occur as two subdivisions of the Saṃkhāra-khandha. This, however unlogical, is not inexplicable, provided we do not assign to Saṃkhāra the meaning of "discrimination", as HARRY has done. The first of the 52 Saṃkhāras is *phassa*, touch, contact, whereas the sentiments as fear, joy, shame &c. are likewise Saṃkhāras; which would be impossible if the term had the meaning assigned to it by HARRY<sup>3</sup>. Saṃkhāras are, in our opinion, passing impressions, mental dispositions, comprising both intellectual affections and sentiments. Hence the first step in the list of Saṃkhāras is *phassa*, contact<sup>4</sup>; the second *vedanā*, feeling; the third *saññā*, notion (e. g. of different colours); *etanā*, thought, intention; *manasikāra*, attention; *ñānendriya*, vitality<sup>5</sup>; *cittakaggatā*, concentration of the mind; *vitakka*, consideration; *vicāra*, deliberation; and so on<sup>6</sup>.

*Viññāṇa*, clear consciousness, has 89 subdivisions, and comprises clear consciousness of what is transmitted by the organs of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touch, and the sixth sense, *manas*; farther the clear consciousness or discrimination of what is good, bad, or indifferent. In the latter case the term denotes spontaneous or instinctive moral discrimination<sup>7</sup>.

The N. definition of the four mental Skandhas<sup>8</sup> is, shortly formulated, as follows: *Viññāṇa* is clear consciousness of what is going on in our interior. From it in combination with the Rūpaskandha springs *vedanā*, feeling of what is pleasant, painful, &c. *Saññā* is the distinct notion of an object, by which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Śārapada-līkhaṇa* XIV. 11, 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> MV. I. 6, 36. Dh. Saṅg. 1309 adds a fifth, viz. *asatthāra bhūta*. In Samy. N. II. p. 3 the four Skandhas are *vedanā*, *saññā*, *phassa*, and *manasikāra*. The usual N. enumeration of the 5 Skandhas is: *viññāṇa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *samskāra*, *viññāṇa*; see BURNOUR 1897, 511, but Śāṅkara on Beṅma-S. II, 2, 18, Dharma-S. XXII, and Sarvad. Saṅg. p. 20 follow a different order, a circumstance connected with the variance in the definitions of the terms. — A scholastic enumeration of the twenty-eight-fold Rūpakkhandha occurs in Vis. M.; see CHILDERS 2, v. *viññāṇa*. — On the 18 Dhatus, principles or properties of primary substances, see Dharma-S. XXV and the references there. How these are connected and how unconnected with each of the 5 Skandhas, see Dhātuk. P. p. 2; cp. p. 51 f.

<sup>3</sup> In Vyū. § 104 *stava* &c. are simply called *asatthāra dharmā*, mental conditions.

<sup>4</sup> Somewhat differently Mil. P. 60 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Dh. Saṅg. 295.

<sup>6</sup> Abhidhamma-Saṅgaha, cited by CHILDERS Diet. p. 455 for the whole series; Dh. Saṅg. 558. Minor differences in the terms and in the order may be left unnoticed. The list in Vyū. I. c. contains 94 terms; cp. HARRY M. of R. 402 ff. Dharma-S. distinguishes Citasampayuktasamskāras, 40 in number, from 12 Citasampayuktasamskāras. XXX, XXXI.

<sup>7</sup> The enumeration of the subdivisions in HARRY M. of R. 419 ff. Cp. the extracts from Vis. M. and Abhidh. Saṅg. with CHAPPAS p. 577. The list much shorter Vyū. § 105.

<sup>8</sup> Sarvad. Saṅg. p. 20.

we are enabled to recognize the object. *Samskāras* are affections, temporary mental or moral dispositions, having their motive in *vedanā*; to them belong the *āśeṣas* (defiling passions)<sup>1</sup> as love, hatred, &c.; the *upakāśas* (secondary āśeṣas), as pride, conceit &c., piety and impiety<sup>2</sup>.

The aggregation of the five Skandhas constitute the *puṭṭhala*, *puṭṭhala*, what we would call the individual, but what in the idealistic system of Buddhism is a being without real individuality. Although the Skandhas constitute the *puṭṭhala*, it is explicitly asserted that neither separately nor conjointly they are the *puṭṭhala*<sup>3</sup>.

The cause of the aggregation of the Skandhas, i. e. of birth and rebirth, is *Karman*. Hence it is said: "It is Name-and-Form which is reborn". We have seen that *Nāma-rūpa* is coextensive with the 5 Skandhas<sup>4</sup>. The passage through a succession of existences, transmigration, bears the usual name of *Samsāra*.

The *Karman* is supposed to have no beginning, but it *can* have an end. The means of attaining that end, of destroying the working of *Karman* is the Eightfold Path, as the Master set forth in his first discourse<sup>5</sup>.

According to the stage one has reached in one's course towards Deliverance, *Nirvāṇa*, there is a fourfold division. Those who are walking in this path of Sanctification in four stages are called, respectively: *Srotaṅgama*, *Sakṛdāgāmin*, *Anāgāmin*, *Arhat* (Pāli: *Sotāpanna*, *Sakadāgāmin*, *Anāgāmin*, *Arahā*), and with a common designation *Śrāvaka*, *Sāvaka*, disciple. Each of the stages or path-divisions is subdivided into a higher and a lower degree, the *mārga*, *maggā*, and its *phala*, result, fruition<sup>6</sup>.

The *Srotaṅgama* is he who has entered the first stage (*srotāṅgatti*, *sotāṅgatti*), the neophyte. He has got rid of the first three bonds of human passion, *samyajāna*<sup>7</sup>; the doors of the states of punishments, *apāya*, are shut for him.

The *Sakṛdāgāmin* is so termed because he will once be reborn in the world of men. He is not only free from the first three bonds, but has in addition reduced to a minimum *rāga*, affection, *dveṣa*; P. *deśa*, hatred, and *moha*, infatuation<sup>8</sup>.

The *Anāgāmin* is he who has freed himself from the first five or lower

<sup>1</sup> Dharma-S. LXVI, note.

<sup>2</sup> The number in Dharma-S. LXIX is twentyfour; other sources as Pugg. P. II, 1-9 give only twenty; see Dharma-S. l. c. note.

<sup>3</sup> Mūl. P. 25 ff.; cp. 61, where the expression *ekacco puṭṭhala* may not unsapily be rendered with "somebody", but in an idealistic, i. e. nihilistic sense.

<sup>4</sup> How the process of rebirth is going on, is minutely expounded Mūl. P. 43; 72; 77.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 23. The Pāli terms are: *sammā-sīlhi*, *s-sābhagga*, *s-sīlhi*, *s-kammanta*, *s-sīlha*, *s-sūpāma*, *s-sati*, *s-samādhi*; in Skr. *samparā-dhā*, *s-sābhaga*, *s-sīlhi*, *s-karmānta*, *s-sīlha*, *s-sūpāma*, *s-samādh*, *s-samādhi*. Definitions Dh. Saṅg. 297-304. Cp. Huxford, loc. cit. 519. The Fivefold Path, *pañcāṅgika magga* comprises Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 of the eight; Dh. Saṅg. p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> See CHILDERS s. v. *maggā* and *phalam*; cp. BRUGSIET I, 153. For the four saints and their characteristics see Vyu. § 46, 48; and cp. BEAL Cat. p. 191; cp. MENAVER Recherches I, 217 ff., where sectarian views also are noticed.

<sup>7</sup> Viz. *diṭṭhi* or *miṭṭhādiṭṭhi*, heresy or the heresy of individuality; *śāśvatā*, scepticism, and *śāśvatānāśina*, observance of superstitious rites. Aṅg. N. II, p. 238; Dh. Saṅg. 1002-1005; Dharma-S. LXVIII. There are several classes of *Srotaṅgamas*; the lowest is he who will be reborn 7 times at most, called *sattakāraṭṭhacāraṇa*, P. *sattakāraṭṭhacāraṇa*, Vyu. § 46; CHILDERS s. v. *parāma*; *kulāndala*, P. *kulāndala*, one who will be reborn 2 or 3 times; Pugg. P. p. 16; Aṅg. N. p. 233; Vyu. l. c. Cp. Dharma-S. CIII, note.

<sup>8</sup> Synonymous with Sak. is *Ekāṅgī*, corrupted in Skr. to *Ekāṅdī*; Pugg. P. p. 16; Aṅg. N. I, 233 ff. Vyu. § 46.

(*atarabhiṅgīya*, P. *arambhiṅgīya*) bonds<sup>1</sup> and will not be reborn on earth or in a Kāmaloka, but in a Brahmaloka.

The Arihat is he in whom the causes of moral infection<sup>2</sup> are exhausted, the impurities washed away, the Klesas<sup>3</sup> rejected; who has fulfilled his task, laid down his burden, removed all bonds<sup>4</sup>, obtained the four kinds of transcendent faculties<sup>5</sup>. He is no more subject to rebirth<sup>6</sup>.

One who, without having entered the first stage, is in possession of those conditions upon which the commencement of sanctification immediately ensues, is called a Gotrabhū<sup>7</sup>. Such a previous stage, which is, so to say, the court-yard of Holiness, is known to the N. Buddhists by the name of Gotrabhūmi<sup>8</sup>.

Those who are walking in the four paths in their progress towards final beatitude rank as true Āryas in contradistinction to the *profanum vulgus*, the Pṛthagjanas. Their power far surpasses that of common mortals, which is nothing strange, as the notion that transcendent power is attainable by man is prevalent among Hindu sects; the Yogin more especially is, to vulgar apprehension, a worker of miracles. Further on we shall have occasion to revert to this subject.

The object of the Ārya is to reach Nirvāṇa<sup>9</sup>. It is impossible within a short compass to refer to all the opinions emitted on the subject; it would fill a volume. We will, therefore, limit ourselves to the main points.

In the first place we must distinguish between the secondary Nirvāṇa and the final or absolute one. The former Nirvāṇa, attained by Arihas in this life, is virtually the same as the Jivanmuktī of the Vedāntins. It is specified by the addition of *upādhiśa* or *sauvāpadiśa* in Pāli, *upadhīśa* with the N. Buddhists<sup>10</sup>, i. e. having the residuum of a substratum.

The second or final, absolute Nirvāṇa (*nirāpādiśa*, P. *anupādiśa*) — in case of the Buddha usually styled Parinirvāṇa — can only be reached after death. By it all suffering ceases, completely and for ever, and is so

<sup>1</sup> To wit the 3 specified above, with *dāmanīya*, attachment, and *paṇigraha*, antipathy; Majjh. N. I. p. 432; Ang. N. II. p. 238; somewhat different in Dh. Saṅg. 1460. Cp. Divy. 533; 535; Vyu. § 109. — Five classes of Anāgamins are enumerated Pugg. P. p. 16 f. Vyu. § 46; cp. CHILDERS s. v. *saṅgīsa*.

<sup>2</sup> *āvaraṇa*, P. *āvara*. Their number is three: *dāma*-, *bāma*- and *saṅgīsa*\_; or four: the foregoing with addition of heresy; Buxxour Int. 823; CHILDERS s. v. *āvara*.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. besetting evil propensities of the mind, 10 in number; enumerated Dh. Saṅg. 1548; with some variations in Lal. V. p. 59 (where we have to read *rāga* for *raṅga*); 348 (n. *rāga*, and add *marāṇa*); 349.

<sup>4</sup> Not only the lower, but also the higher (*ūrdhvarabhiṅgīya*, P. *uddharabhiṅgīya*); see CHILDERS s. v. *anupādiśa*; the list in Dh. Saṅg. 1460 shows variations. Cp. Vyu. § 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Paṇḍita*; more about this term in the sequel.

<sup>6</sup> The character and qualities of the four degrees of Saints are fully described in Mil. P. 102 ff. Cp. Vyu. § 46. — The fourfold division of Yogīs is: Prāthamakālpika, Madhubhāṇika, Prajāyogī, and Arakramabhāvanīya; Yogas. III, 50, Ceraṇ.

<sup>7</sup> Pugg. P. p. 13; cp. CHILDERS s. v.

<sup>8</sup> WASSILNER B. 239.

<sup>9</sup> Synonymous terms are Nivṛti, Nibhūti, Amṛta, Anata, and others. The terms are known also to other Indian sects, with a different shade of meaning. The usual term in the Yoga is Kāvalya; in the Vedānta, Mukti, Mokṣa; in the Nyaya, Apararga; in the system of the Saiva-monks, Duḥkhaṇā. In Caraka IV, 5 occur as synonymous with "final rest": *dāma*, *amṛta*, *brahma*, *nirvāṇa*.

<sup>10</sup> Vyu. § 95; Buxxour Int. 590; CHILDERS s. v. *upādhiśa*, where the remark that *sauvāpadi* is with the S. Buddhists a distinctive epithet of the Arihat, must be coupled with what the same author says s. v. *upādhi*: "the term *nirāpādi* may also be applied to one who has attained *anupādiśa*-nibhāna, has ceased to exist". Now the N. Buddhists use *nirāpādi* exactly in the latter sense, and yet they are blamed by the author! On the confusion in lit. p. 30 see above p. 50.

far it may be extolled as a blissful state, and as eternal, *amata* (*amata*). Does it imply a complete cessation of consciousness? It does, of course, if we draw the logical conclusions from the fundamental principles underlying the creed<sup>1</sup>. But not every one draws logical conclusions, and it would seem that even in the bosom of the Congregation there reigned some uncertainty as to the point in question. This would not be very wonderful. When the brethren repeatedly heard how the Buddha was conscious of all occurrences in his former births, some of them may involuntarily have been led to believe that memory, consciousness survives after death. We may understand how in order to prevent fruitless discussions among the brethren the Buddha is represented to have laid down the rule that the question: "Does the 'Tathāgata exist after death, or does he not?" is one of those questions that must be set aside as useless and remain unanswered<sup>2</sup>.

Practically, Nirvāṇa means a happy death without fear of rebirth. If so, how then can the Buddha be said to have conquered Māra? Because he conquered, not, indeed, physical death, but the abject fear of death. The means of bringing about that result, consists in representing death as something extremely blissful.

### 3. SPIRITUAL EXERCISES.

The striving for Nirvāṇa requires a good deal of constant spiritual exercise, meditation and contemplation, such as with insignificant variations are practised by all Indian ecstasies.

As a preparatory to soaring into the higher regions of thought, must be considered the *Bhāvanā*, cultivation, cherishing of the sentiments of *maitrī*, benevolence, *karuṇā*, compassion, *muditā*, cheerfulness, and *apṛēṣā*, indifference, equanimity. These four Bhāvanās, identical in name and character with those of all Yogins<sup>3</sup>, are otherwise termed *brahmarūpāṇā*, living in the spiritual world, and P. *appamāṇā*, Skr. *apramāṇā*<sup>4</sup>.

Sometimes a fifth Bhāvanā is added to the four Brahmārūpāṇā, to wit the *Asubhābhāvanā*, realisation of the loathsomeness of the body, but in this case *asubhā* means conception, realisation; synonymous terms are *asubhasatthā* and *asubhāpratyavekṣā*<sup>5</sup>. There are 10 *Asubhas*, notions arising from the contemplation of a dead body; the names in P. are: *viddhumatāka*, bloated; *vinīlaka*, blackish; *vipubbaka*, festering; *vicchiddaka*, fissured from decay; *vikkhāyitaka*, gnawed by animals; *vikkhittaka*, scattered; *hatavikkhittaka*,

<sup>1</sup> We refer to the exhaustive and masterly article *nibbāna* in CHANDLER'S Dict. Cf. D'ALMEIDA, *Buddhist Nirvāṇa*; FRANKFURTER, *Buddhist Nirvāṇa and the Noble Eightfold Path*, JRAS of 1880; REYS DAVIES B. 14. — For the Mahāyānist the idea of Nirvāṇa is a mere delusion, as we shall see in the sequel.

<sup>2</sup> Majjh. N. I, 426 ff.; 484; Samy. N. II, p. 222; Mūl. P. 145. It is not easy to reconcile, unless by sophisms, this agnosticism with the words spoken by the Tathāgata in Samy. N. II, p. 231: "Puggalam passāmi paramaṃ maraṇāṃ Nīrayaṃ upapannaṃ". And how to explain another passage, Samy. N. III, p. 109, where the theory that the "khetavāso wechhijati, na hoti paramaṃ maraṇaṃ" is rejected as being heterodox?

<sup>3</sup> Definition in Yogas. I, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Aṅg. N. II, p. 130; Nip. p. 89; Vyū. § 72; Lal. V. 35; 37; Jāt. Mātā XXXII. CHANDLER is right in deriving the P. term from *appamāṇa*, as appears from *nebhāya añṇaṃ bhāvanāṃ appamāṇaṃ* S. Nip. I, c.; *appamāṇasamūhi* = *appamāṇā* Aṅg. N. I, p. 236; *appamāṇaṃ cetasamānāṃ* II, 54; cp. Majjh. N. I, p. 283. We have also *apramāṇa* S. Nip. p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Majjh. N. I, p. 424; Vyū. § 52, Tide; Lal. V. 36; CHANDLER s. v. *asubha*.

injured and scattered; *śvīṭaka*, bloody; *puṣṭaka*, full of worms; *aśhika*, bones<sup>1</sup>.

The ten Asubhas, as well as the four Brahmavihāras, belong to the 40 philosophical Operations or Kammatthānas<sup>2</sup>. These Operations include the tenfold Kasiṇa, a kind of mystic Bhūvanā. The ten objects on which the attention at this operation must be fixed are: earth, water, fire, air, blue, yellow, red, white, light, and ether or space<sup>3</sup>. The same rite is practised by the N. Buddhists, who term it *krīṇṇāyatana*, object or base of Kṛtsna. The ten modes of operation are given in the following order: *nīla*-, *pīṭa*-, *lohita*-, *aradāta*-, *pythivī*-, *ap*-, *teja*-, *vāyu*-, *ākāśa*-, and *vijñāna-krīṇṇāyatana*<sup>4</sup>.

The 40 Operations further comprise the 10 kinds of *anussmṛti*, P. *anussati*, recollection, constant thinking: on the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha; morality; liberality (*dāga*, *dāga*); the gods; death; the body; the regulation of inspiration and expiration (*ānāpānasmṛti*); and quietude<sup>5</sup>.

The exercise of *Ānāpānasmṛti* consists in fixing the mind intently on one's own breathing, in connection with certain set subjects of reflection; it is a highly valued kind of Samādhi<sup>6</sup>.

Four species of Kammatthāna are termed *Āruppa*, belonging to the 4 incorporeal Brahmaloḥas: *Ākāśānāśayātana*, place of infinity of space; *Vīśāṇānāśay*, p. of infinity of clear consciousness; *Ākīñcanyāy*, p. of nothingness; *Nevasaññānāśayātana*, p. of neither-consciousness-nor-unconsciousness; in Skr. *Ākāśānāntyāyatana*, *Vijñānāntyāy*, *Ākīñcanyāy*, *Naivasaññā-nāśayātana*<sup>7</sup>. Those who by dint of ecstatic meditation soar into those regions, have reached a very high standpoint, there remaining but one superior: the *Saṃjñāvedayitanirodha*, Skr. *Saññāveditanirodha*, cessation of consciousness; the same have arrived at the corresponding exalted states of *vimokṣa*, P. *vimokkha*, emancipation, deliverance<sup>8</sup>. There is, of course, not much that is particularly Buddhist in this system. For we know that Ārāja Kaśīma was proficient in the state of Nothingness, and Udraka Rāmaputra in that of Neither-consciousness-nor-unconsciousness, but they were surpassed by the Buddha, who attained to cessation of consciousness<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dh. Saṅg. 264. The corresponding terms Vyū. § 52 are: *vinīṭaka*-, *vijñāṭaka*-, *viśāṇaṭaka*-, *vīśāṇaṭaka*-, *vīśāṇaṭaka*-, *vīśāṇaṭaka*-, and *arabhaṇṇāy*. This list counts one term less than the P. Asubhas, for a detailed account of which see HARDY E. M. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Enumerated from Vyū. M. by CHILDERS s. v. They are included in the more extensive series of 108 Dharmalokamukhas in Lal. V. 34 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See CHILDERS s. v. *dharmas*. In Majjh. N. I, 423 we find the 5 elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether or space as objects of *pañcāśīkṣā* Māraṇa &c. The 5 elements with *Vijñāna* constitute the 6 Dharmas; see Dharma-S. LVIII, note. The following bhāvanās i. e. are *metta*-, *karuṇā*-, *mettā*-, *mettābhāvanā*; then *asubha*; further *anāpānāśay*; finally *ānāpānāśay*.

<sup>4</sup> Vyū. § 72. The *vijñāna*-k instead of *ākāśa*-k occurs in a Pāli source, Saṅgiti-S.; see CHILDERS l. c. and HARDY E. M. 232 ff. for a more detailed description.

<sup>5</sup> Aṅg. N. I, 42. Out of these 10 the first six are given by CHILDERS s. v. *anussati*; likewise in Lal. V. 34; Vyū. § 51; Dharma-S. LIV, note.

<sup>6</sup> For the details of this mystic operation we refer to Majjh. N. I, p. 425; S. Vibh. I, p. 70; Vyū. § 53 (where the term is *ānāpānāśayānāśay*); HARDY E. M. 207 ff. Cp. WASSILJEV II. 150.

<sup>7</sup> Vyū. §§ 68; 119; BERGHOFF-LOTUS p. 811; HARDY E. M. 261. Cp. Majjh. N. I, p. 455.

<sup>8</sup> Majjh. N. I, p. 456; cp. p. 296; Vyū. § 70; Dharma-S. LIX; the form *Saññāvedayita* in Mhv. I, 126. — In some passages we meet with a fourfold *ānāpānāśay*, viz. *ānāpānāśay*, *ānāpānāśay*, *ānāpānāśay*, and *ānāpānāśay*; Majjh. N. I, p. 297; Aṅg. N. I, p. 4; in others, five; see CHILDERS s. v. *vimutti*. The *ānāpānāśay* in the Yoga is threefold; Yogas. II, 27, Comm.

<sup>9</sup> Majjh. N. I, p. 165; Lal. V. 295; 306; Buddhac. XII, vss. 63; 83.



It results from the foregoing that the four degrees of Dhyāna, P. Jhāna, abstract meditation, though nominally, excluded from the system of Kamma-tthānas, are nothing else but the four lower stages of ecstasy. Since the exercise of Dhyāna is confessedly anterior to Buddhism<sup>1</sup>, we content ourselves with producing the following passage from the racy description by CARPENTERS<sup>2</sup>. "The priest — concentrates his mind upon a single thought. Gradually his soul becomes filled with a supernatural ecstasy and serenity, while his mind still reasons upon and investigates the subject chosen for contemplation; this is the first Jhāna. Still fixing his thoughts upon the same subject, he then frees his mind from reasoning and investigation, while the ecstasy and serenity remain, and this is the second Jhāna. Next, his thoughts still fixed as before, he divests himself of ecstasy, and attains the third Jhāna, which is a state of tranquil serenity. Lastly, he passes to the fourth Jhāna, in which the mind, exalted and purified, is indifferent to all emotions, alike of pleasure and of pain". Each of the first three Dhyānas is subdivided into three degrees, the inferior, the medial and the superior meditation; the attainment of the first Dhyāna gives the power of working miracles, *iddhi*, P. *iddhi*. In general the Dhyānas secure access to the sixteen corporeal (*rūpa*) Brahmālokas, the peculiar *loka* being determined by the degree of Dhyāna attained<sup>3</sup>. It is, consequently, plain that the 4 Dhyānas represent a lower stage of ecstatic contemplation than the 4 Ārūppas.

Sometimes there is question of 5 Dhyānas (*pañcāṅgikāṃ jhānaṃ*). They differ in no essential point from the 4 Dhyānas, the second stage being separated into two<sup>4</sup>.

In connection with Dhyāna we have to speak of Samādhi, properly a state of most intense concentration and absorption<sup>5</sup>, but in Buddhist writings a wider term. There are different sets of Samādhi. The 3 Samādhis are Saviakka-savicāra-, Avitakka-vicāramana-, and Avitakka-avicāra. Three others are Sudhāra, void, Anamitta, groundless, reasonless, and Appanibhita, without fixed purpose<sup>6</sup>, to which correspond 3 states of emancipation<sup>7</sup>. A set of 4 Samādhis is designated by the qualifications of *ārambhaḥḥiḥiḥi*, leading to rejection; *thitthāḥḥiḥi*, i. to firmness; *āśāḥḥiḥi*, i. to distinction, and *nibbhaḥḥiḥi*, i. to excellence<sup>8</sup>.

In Samādhi one distinguishes two degrees, the inferior called Upacāra-samādhi, and the superior, Appanā-S., i. e. initiatory, and penetrating, thoroughly grasping<sup>9</sup>.

The original meaning of Samādhi is such that any profound pious meditation can be brought under that head. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the Mahāyānists with their ritualistic propensities invented a series of Samādhis

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. Jai. I, p. 58; Mhv. I, 228; Lal. V, 147; Buddhac. XII, vs. 49. Cp. Yogas. III, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dict. p. 169. Original text e. g. in Majjh. N. I, pp. 21; 117; 455; Lal. V, 147; 439; Mhv. I, 228; Yvu. § 67. Cp. Buddhac. XII, vs. 49 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The names of these Lokas in the sequel.

<sup>4</sup> In Dh. Saṅg. 83 the degrees are *nāḥḥi*, *vicāra*, *jūḥ*, *nettha*, and *āśāḥḥiḥiḥi*.

<sup>5</sup> Mh. P. 38; Yogas. III, 3; Sarvad. 8, 164.

<sup>6</sup> Aug. N. I, p. 300; Mh. P. 337, where the 6 Samādhis are qualified as one of the 7 Ratnas of the Buddha. — Cp. Yogas. I, 17 f.

<sup>7</sup> Dh. vs. 92, and Comm.; CHILDERS Dict. p. 270. The three *Vivakka* or *Vivakka* in Yvu. § 73 are: *Nāḥḥi*, *Anamitta*, *Appanibhita*. Cp. Dharm-S. LXXII, note.

<sup>8</sup> Yvu. § 55 *Ārambhaḥḥiḥi*, synonymous with *ārambha*, *nāḥḥiḥi*, *āśāḥḥi*, and *nibbhaḥḥi*. Cp. *Upaniṣad* 20. WASSILIER B. 139; 246; Pali *ārambha* = *ārambhaḥḥi*, Jai. V, p. 268; *ārambha*, highly proficient, brilliant, Majjh. N. I, p. 132.

<sup>9</sup> HADY E. N. 257. The same division applies to the Kammingānas.

adorned with more or less sensational names, but with no definite meaning. The number in the Prajñā-Pāramitā is no less than 108<sup>1</sup>.

Theoretically there should be as many Samāpattis as Samādhis. For the latter does not differ more from the former than a process going on does from its accomplishment. It is, in fact, expressly stated that there are eight Samāpattis, coinciding with the four inferior kinds of Samādhi, i. e. the four Dhyānas, and with the four Āruppa Kammaṭṭhānas. The ninth, Nirodha-samāpatti, answers to the Saññavedayitanirodha<sup>2</sup>.

Reverting to the Kammaṭṭhānas, we farther come across the *Āhārapati-kūlasaṅgha*, consciousness of the impurity of material food<sup>3</sup>. The last of the list is *Catuḥkāta-varaṭṭhāna*, determination of the four elements.

Besides the forty Operations occasionally occur some exercises not included in the list, and yet termed Kammaṭṭhānas; e. g. the *Suññatā-kammaṭṭhāna*, but this is obviously merely another name for *Suññatā* (sic) samādhi<sup>4</sup>.

The base or substratum of an idea, and as such the subject for meditation is called *ārambhaṇa*, Skr. *ārambhāṇa* or, more usually, *ālambhaṇa*<sup>5</sup>.

In the foregoing we have had occasion to name several ideal worlds, the corporeal and the incorporeal Brahmālokas. These and similar worlds are spoken of in a way as if they constituted parts of the universe. The Buddhists, being idealists, make no marked difference between cosmical facts based on observation<sup>6</sup> and the products of fancy. The one and the other belong to their cosmical system, whereof we will try to give a succinct view.

#### 4. COSMICAL SYSTEM. CLASSIFICATION OF LIVING BEINGS.

The universe consists of innumerable spheres, Cakravālas, each of which has its own earth, sun, moon, heavens and hells<sup>7</sup>. Between those spheres are situated certain hells, termed *Lokāntarika*. The centre of our earth is occupied by Mount Meru or Sumeru (P. also Sineru), around which are the principal mountains, Kulācalas<sup>8</sup> and beyond these the four continents or Mahā-dvīpas, viz. Uvara-Kuru, the country of the Hyperboreans; Jambudvīpa, India, to the South of the Meru; Aparā-Godāni or -Godāniya (P. Aparā-Goyāna) to the West; Purva-Vidha (Pubba-V.) to the East<sup>9</sup>.

Each of the spheres consists of three Avacaras, regions, also styled *Lokas*, worlds, or Dhātus, layers, floors, the lowest being the region of Kāma, sensual pleasure; higher is the region of Rūpa, form, divided into four stages of Dhyāna; the highest is the region of Arūpa, formlessness<sup>10</sup>.

The lowest region is the abode of six classes of gods: 1. the four Rulers of the cardinal points; 2. the Thirty-three gods; 3. the Yāmas; 4. the Tusitas; 5. the

<sup>1</sup> Enumerated in Vyā. § 21.

<sup>2</sup> Pugg. P. p. 20; Saṃy. N. II, p. 216 (nine Vihārasamāpattis); Vyā. § 68; Dussour. Loc. 348; 389; WASSILIEF B. 140; 240. Cp. Yogas. I. 42—48.

<sup>3</sup> HARDY E. M. 96, from Vis. M.

<sup>4</sup> Aṅg. N. I, p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> *Ārambhāṇa* in Aṅgas. P. Parim. parim., e. g. p. 138; 269; Vyā. § 21; cp. *ānārambhāṇa* Chāndogyanopaniṣad 2, 9. But *ālambhaṇa* Yogas. I, 10; 38; 42, Comm.

<sup>6</sup> In an idealistic system where there is no room for absolute reality, as the whole world is a product of imagination; in other words: the world is created by Dhyāna. Cp. HOBSON Ess. 28; Bent. Cat. 124.

<sup>7</sup> For details see CHANDLER s. v. *sattabāhū*; HARDY M. of B. I ff.; Legends 80 ff. BURNOUR Intr. 399 ff.; WASSILIEF Buddh. of Tib. 77—104.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Dharmas. CXXV, note.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. Vyā. § 154; Lal. V. 170; Divy. 213 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Vyā. § 155; *kāma*, *rūpa*, *arūpa-dhātu*.

Nirmāharatis; 6. the Parinirmita-vaśavartins<sup>1</sup>. These six Devalokas constitute with the world of men, of Asuras, of Pretas, the animal kingdom and the hells, the eleven Kāmalokas<sup>2</sup>.

The second region, that of Rūpa, or more accurately the Rūpa-brahmaloka — for Rūpaloka in a wider sense includes the Kāmaloka — is divided into sixteen sections, the abodes of as many classes of gods who are free from *Āśva*. Beginning from below we have: 1. Brahmāpārisajjas; 2. Brahmāpurohitas; 3. Mahābrahmas; 4. Paritābhas; 5. Appamāpābhas; 6. Ābhassaras; 7. Parittasubhas; 8. Appamāpasubhas; 9. Subhaktinas; 10. Vekapphalas; 11. Asañāsattas; 12. Avīhas; 13. Atappas; 14. Suddasas; 15. Suddasins; 16. Akaniṭṭhas<sup>3</sup>. The abodes of 1—3 are attained by those who exercise the three degrees of the first Dhyāna, severally. The next three by proficient in the second Dhyāna; the next three by the adepts in the third Dhyāna; 10 and 11 are assigned to the fourth Dhyāna, and the remaining five to the Anāgāmins<sup>4</sup>.

The Northern texts contain nearly the same names. The first group is made up of Brahmakāyikas, Brahmāpārisajjas, Brahmāpurohitas, Mahābrahmas<sup>5</sup>; the second, of Paritābhas, Appamāpābhas, and Ābhassaras; the third, of Parittasubhas, Appamāpasubhas, and Subhaktinas; the fourth, of Anābhakas, Puṇyaprasavas, and Vīratphalas<sup>6</sup>. The last five are Avāhas, Atapas, Suddasas, Suddasinas, and Akaniṭṭhas<sup>7</sup>.

Higher than the Rūpabrahmaloka is the Arūpabh., divided into four degrees which bear the same names as the Ārūpa-kammāṭṭhānas<sup>8</sup>.

The very lowest of the thirty-one abodes of living beings are the hells or places of punishment (*naraka, niraya*). The principal hells are eight in number and known by the names of Saṅgiṭṭa, Kālasūtra, Saṅghāra, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Tāpana, Prāṭāpāna, and the very deepest, Avīci<sup>9</sup>. Apart from these there is the Lokāntarika hell, already mentioned, and many minor hells. In the old system of the N. Buddhists there are besides the eight hot hells just enumerated as many cold hells: Arbuda, Nirarbuda, Atāṭa, Mahāta, Huhava, Uṭṭāṭa, Padma, and Mahāpadma<sup>10</sup>; in the Pāli canon we meet with the same and a few more: Atāṭa, Arbuda, Nirarbuda, Mahāta, Abāṭa, Kāṇḍa, Uppalaka, Sogandhika, Puṇḍarika, and Paduma<sup>11</sup>. In later N. works the number of hells is still greater<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lal. V. 170; Divy. 200; Burroughs Intr. 212. The gods are longlived, *āśāśvins*, but not immortal; Aṅg. N. II, 33. The same view is common enough among Hindus; c. g. Vajrasūktīya Dharmaś. III, 10; Yugas. II, 5, Comm.

<sup>2</sup> Vyu. § 156 only eight; to wit the worlds of 6 kinds of gods, of terrestrial beings, and of inhabitants of the atmosphere (*antarīkṣamāna*).

<sup>3</sup> In Majjh. N. I, p. 329 occur the groups 6—10, followed by Abhikkhu; cp. there p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> CHANDLER s. v. *ānāgāmi*.

<sup>5</sup> Thus Vyu. § 157; the second name is wanting in Burroughs Intr. 212. As there ought to be only three names, it is probable that Brahmakāyikas properly is a comprehensive term for the whole group, as in Pāli; see CHANDLER Dict. p. 486. Cp. Dharma-S. CXNVIII.

<sup>6</sup> Lal. V. 171 adds: 1. Asañāsattas, agreeing with P. Asañāsattas; so, too, Dharma-S. l. c.

<sup>7</sup> The Atapas wanting in Lal. V. l. c. Vyu. § 161 adds Aghaniṭṭhas<sup>7</sup> and Mahāmaheśvarayānam.

<sup>8</sup> An account of the exact duration of life of the gods residing in the *Ākāśa-mahākāyātana* &c. is found Aṅg. N. I, p. 267.

<sup>9</sup> A detailed description of these hells occurs e. g. Aṅg. N. I, pp. 141 ff. Mhv. I, 7 ff. Cp. Vyu. § 214.

<sup>10</sup> Burroughs Intr. 221; Vyu. § 215; Divy. 67. Somewhat different Dharma-S. CXVII, where Atāṭa = P. Abāṭa.

<sup>11</sup> S. Nip. p. 123. These terms also denote certain high numerals.

<sup>12</sup> E. g. in Kāraṇḍa-Vyākha. Cp. L. FRER, *Denfer indien*, JA 1892 and 1893.

Above the hells is placed the animal kingdom or brute creation. Not unlikely we have to see in this notion the survival of ancient myths, for real animals are living on our planet, the world of men. Higher than the animal kingdom is the abode of Pretas, ghosts, spectres, though these beings are also placed in the Lokāntarika hell<sup>1</sup>. Still higher is the domain of Asuras, demons, among whom ranks foremost Rāhu, the personified eclipse<sup>2</sup>. The hells, together with the next three worlds, constitute the four Apāyalokas<sup>3</sup>, places of suffering. Adding to them the state of men, we get the 5 Gatis or states of existence<sup>4</sup>.

It is difficult for us to realise in how far such theories were matter of serious belief. This much is certain that in the canonical books, both of the South and the North, we repeatedly hear the Master gravely and in a tone of perfect earnest discoursing on his visits to various heavens &c. A visit to the Brahmāloka is vividly described by him in the Brahmaninantaṅkika-Sutta<sup>5</sup>. In another passage he asserts that he had received a visit from Brahma Sahampati<sup>6</sup>. Suchlike declarations are numberless, not to speak of the passages where in the history of the Buddha the gods, especially Brahmā and Indra enter as actors, represented with as much reality as the Tathāgata himself. The Master knows all about the destiny of persons in the life to come, and freely predicts where so and so will be reborn, at the same time expressly — and suspiciously — stating that he does not use his transcendent faculty, as other teachers do, out of greed or in order to deceive the world<sup>7</sup>.

What have we to infer from all this? Whatever may have been the conviction and purpose of those who composed the canonical texts, it can hardly be doubted that the majority of the believers, both among the laity and the monks, have, up to this day, put implicit faith in the contents of their sacred books<sup>8</sup>.

Besides this system of 31 worlds and their inhabitants, there is another in which living beings are distinguished according to their higher and lower degree of spiritual excellence; a distinction, it must be observed, of a temporary character. For the lowest beings in the scale may by dint of Karma rise to the highest rank, and the most elevated can descend, with the exception of Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas and Arhats, who are certain of reaching final Nirvāṇa.

According to this classification the highest beings are: 1. the Supreme Buddhas; then follow: 2. Pratyekabuddhas; 3. Arhats; 4. Devas; 5. Brahmas; 6. Gandharvas, celestial musicians; 7. Garuḍas, winged beings flying through the sky like lightning; 8. Nāgas, snake-like beings, resembling clouds; 9. Yakṣas<sup>9</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the tales in the Book of Ghost stories, Petawattū, and Cūḍasas s. v. *preta*.

<sup>2</sup> Cūḍasas s. v. *asura* and *Vyu*, § 171.

<sup>3</sup> Lal. V. 236 mentions three *Apāyas*, without specifying them.

<sup>4</sup> Or six, if the *Asuraṅkaya* be added; BERNOUT *Loc.* 309; cp. *Dharma-S.* LVII, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Majjh.* N. I, p. 326.

<sup>6</sup> *Ang.* N. II, p. 20; *Majjh.* N. I, p. 458.

<sup>7</sup> *Majjh.* N. I, p. 464.

<sup>8</sup> On the other hand it cannot be denied that in later Mahāyānist or Tantric works we come across instances of thorough going scepticism. In the *Vajramanājā Dhāraṇī* the Buddha declares: "The hells, o Mañjuśrī, are a creation of ignorant men who foolishly believe in what does not exist; the hells are a product of their fancy"; BERNOUT *Int.* p. 544.

<sup>9</sup> This word has in B. writings sometimes a wider and older meaning, viz., that of a being to be worshipped or a powerful spirit; Indra e. g. is called a Yakṣa; even the Buddha is glorified by Upali as an *ābhayaṃ yakṣo ananāpuggalo arāṇa*, *Majjh.* N. I, p. 386. The term is used synonymously with *devaputta* Saṃy. N. I, p. 54. In a more restricted sense the Yakṣas are the attendants of Kubera as in Hindu mythology; cp. *Vyu*, § 169.

10. Kumbhāṇḍas, goblins; 11. Asuras, demons; 12. Rākṣasas, giants, monsters; 13. Pretas, ghosts, spectres; 14. the inhabitants of hell<sup>1</sup>.

Of all these only the first three will occupy us; the others need no particular notice, the less so, because they belong to Indian mythology in general.

### 5. ARHATS, PRATYKABUDDHAS, AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

Arhats are, dogmatically, all those who are walking in the fourth and highest stage of the path leading to Nīrvāṇa. They are distinguished by faculties far surpassing those of common mortals. First of all then they possess the four sorts of *paññambhūti* — in N. texts *paññāpavīd* — regarding 1. Artha; 2. Dharma; 3. Nirukti; 4. Praśādhāna. The purport of these terms seems to be: a transcendent faculty in grasping the meaning of a text or subject; in grasping the Law of all things as taught by the Buddha; in exegesis; readiness in expounding and discussing<sup>2</sup>.

Besides the four distinctive faculties just named, the Arhat possesses five kinds of transcendent knowledge, Abhiññā (Abhiññāṇa); 10 wit: Ādāhi (Īdāhi), the power of working miracles<sup>3</sup>. Further the Divine ear by which he is enabled to hear and understand all sounds in the universe<sup>4</sup>; knowledge of the thoughts of others; memory of former existences; and the Divine eye, by which he sees all that is occurring in the world and perceives how beings in different worlds die and are reborn. There is also a sixth Abhiññā, being the transcendent knowledge which causes the destruction of defiling passions<sup>5</sup>.

The Arhat is also endowed with eight Vidyaś, branches of knowledge, which, however, are nothing else but the six Abhiññāś with the addition of *vipassanānaṇa* and *manomayiddhi*. The latter is properly only one of the 10 Ādāhiś<sup>6</sup>.

Vipassanā, Skr. Vipasyāṇā and more correctly Vidarsanā, is contemplation and the true insight connected with it. It is often mentioned together with Samatha. Skr. Samatha, quietude, as an attribute of Arhats. Accordingly it is said that there are two orders of Arhats, the Sikkhaviṇṇasa, the barely contemplative philosopher, and the Samathayānika, he who is devoted to quietude<sup>7</sup>.

The power of working miracles requires the aid of the fourfold Padhāna

<sup>1</sup> The series in Vyu. § 166 is: Devas, Nāgas, Yaksas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Daityas, Garudas, Kinnaras, Mohoragas, and Kumbhāṇḍas. Several names of these beings are recorded § 167—175. Cp. Divy. 148. Lal. V. 184 omits Daityas, but adds Śakra, Brahma, the Lokapālas, monks, nuns, lay devotees of both sexes.

<sup>2</sup> See the dissertation of CHILDERS s. v. *paññambhūti*. For *paññādhāna* cp. Mil. P. 340. *Paññambhūti*, apparently, means speciality, special and distinctive gift. *Paññāpavīd* is wholly inappropriate as has been pointed out by CHILDERS, Cp. Vyu. § 13; Dharma-S. II, note.

<sup>3</sup> It has 4 subdivisions, *pañāś*; see CHILDERS s. v. *iddhipādo*; the passage there adduced is identical with Vyu. § 40.

<sup>4</sup> The same faculty belongs to the Yogis; Yogas. III, 40.

<sup>5</sup> HARDY E. M. 284; M. of B. 38; BUSCHOU Intr. 295; Lat. 820. Cp. CV. VI, 6, 2; Lal. V. 184. Slight variations in Vyu. § 14; the miraculous performances due to Abhiññā are summarised § 15. Cp. Dharma-S. XX, note.

<sup>6</sup> CHILDERS s. vv. *ajjā* and *manomaya*. For the 10 sorts of Ādāhi see HARDY M. of B. 500. Sometimes there is question of 3 kinds of Ādāhi-paññārya, and we know e. g. from Aug. N. I, p. 172, that many monks had the power of performing such miracle. Miracles, *paññārya*, on sacred monuments (*stūpas*) of past Arhats, are not rare; Mil. P. 309. There are 3 species of Pratyakhyas: *nāthi*, *āśāna*, and *anulāna*-*pratyakhyas*; Digh. N. I, pp. 212 ff. Vyu. § 16.

<sup>7</sup> CHILDERS s. v. *samatha*; Dh. p. 425; WASSILIEF B. 141; Lal. V. 146; 218; Mhv. I, 120; Vyu. § 30.

or Sammā-p., right exertion or application<sup>1</sup>; consisting: 1. in the restraint of the senses, Samvara-p.; 2. in the abandonment of sinful thoughts; 3. in the Bhāvanās; 4. in steady perseverance<sup>2</sup>. — Certain spiritual qualities which the Arhats share with the Bodhisattvas will be noticed in the sequel.

The prominent characteristic of the Arhat is Wisdom, Prajñā. It is by Wisdom that he crosses the ocean of existence; hence he is said to be Prajñāvimukta. His inferior, the Anāgāmin, cannot yet reach that ultimate goal, but becomes a denizen of the Brahmāloka, by means of Samādhi, whilst the Sakṛdāgāmin and Srotāpanna by virtue of Morality, Śīla, occupy places intermediate between the Brahmāloka and the Apīyas<sup>3</sup>.

The Arhat is the Ārya *par excellence*, though all others who are progressing towards Deliverance are entitled to that denomination. In many cases Ārya, Arhat and Śrāvaka are controvertible terms. Primarily Śrāvaka is a hearer, a disciple of Buddha, but it is not seldom used synonymously with Arhat or Ārya<sup>4</sup>, and the compound Ariyasāvaka in general denotes a pious believer<sup>5</sup>.

In a later period we see the Mahāyānists apply Śrāvaka to denote the primeval Buddhists, but it is with them also a comprehensive term for their opponents, the Hinayānists, whom we may call Old Buddhists.

The Mahāyānists divide all sons of Buddha into three classes, according to the *yāna*, the vehicle they use, the curriculum they go through: 1. the Yāna of the Śrāvakas, the lowest; 2. that of the Pratyekabuddhas; 3. that of the Bodhisattvas<sup>6</sup>. In connection with the whole tenor of the passage in Saddh. P. where the three Yānas are spoken of, it would seem that by the followers of the Śrāvaka-yāna are meant the Sthaviras or Buddhists of the old orthodoxy; with the second class the solitary contemplative philosophers<sup>7</sup>; with the third, the accomplished teachers and preachers.

Although such a distinction is made, one should know that essentially there is only one Yāna, the Buddhayāna, because ultimately all beings, at one time or another, shall reach the same goal. Therefore the Tathāgata declares that he will lead all beings to final Nirvāṇa, adding: "all beings are my children".<sup>8</sup>

Both with the Mahāyānists and the adherents of the old creed the Arhats are inferior to the Pratyekabuddhas or private Buddhas. Dogmatically the Pratyekabuddha, P. Pacceka-b., is a being who has attained, like a Buddha,

<sup>1</sup> Aṅg. N. II, p. 15; S. Nip. p. 74; cp. Dharma-S. XLV; Lā. V. 37; 218; 327. The term *Pradhāna* in N. texts is a decidedly blundering rendering of a Prakrit term into Skr. This is proved by the fact that the verbal expression corresponding to *samyak-pradhāna* is *samyak-pradadhānā* Vyū. § 39; cp. Lā. V. 499.

<sup>2</sup> Aṅg. N. II, p. 16; Vyū. § 39.

<sup>3</sup> Vis. M. I, p. 22 and p. 26; cp. Vyū. § 26.

<sup>4</sup> Thus *ārya* Dh. p. 22 is explained p. 180 by *Buddha-pacceka-buddha-sāvaka*, where *sāvaka* takes the place of Arhat. *Sāvaka-bodhi* is the knowledge possessed by an Arhat, opposed both to supreme Buddha-knowledge and to Pratyeka-buddhi; see CHILDERS s. v. *sāvaka*. The same results from Vyū. §§ 46—48.

<sup>5</sup> In Aṅg. N. I, p. 210 the Ariyasāvakas are exhorted to keep the Sālinth in a worthy manner; here the word can only mean a pious believer. So, too, the *gāthapāṭi ariyasāvaka*; cp. c. II, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> BURROUP Lot. p. 52; 315. *Yāna* *Yāna*, P. *yāna* seems to be synonymous with *śakubhata* and *dhūta* (c. p. Sam. v. N. I, p. 114; II, p. 264; MFS. III, 75; Mil. P. 140), and to mean "gone through, studied, steadily exercised", pretty much the same as Skr. *adhyāsa*. — For the 3 Yānas see Dharma-S. II, and the references in the note; and WASSILIEFF K. 7. BERN. compares the Platonic *egges*; Cat. 124.

<sup>7</sup> In such passages like Dh. I, 301, it is not difficult to recognize a hermit under the disguise of the term Pratyekabuddha.

<sup>8</sup> Lot. p. 69. Cp. Dharma-S. I. c.



by his unaided powers the knowledge necessary to Nirvāṇa, but does not preach it. He is not omniscient, and is in all respects inferior to a supreme Buddha. It is a law of nature that he can not live at the same time with a Buddha<sup>1</sup>.

## 6. BUDDHAS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

The Buddhas are the highest spiritual beings. So the supreme Buddha has said himself, and repeatedly. Now what kind of being is a Buddha? Before attempting to answer this question, we have to take a survey of his characteristics, external and internal.

Among the external characteristics of a Buddha the most remarkable are the 32 Mahāpariṣad-lakṣaṇas, which he shares with Cakravartins, Arhats and other eminent persons<sup>2</sup>. The number of secondary characteristics, Anuvyañjana, is 86. The enumeration and description of these primary and secondary marks, which with insignificant variations are equally found in S. and in N. texts, is too long to be here inserted. It will suffice to indicate the chief sources of information<sup>3</sup>. Besides these marks, 216 Māṅgalya-lakṣaṇas or auspicious marks, 108 on each foot, are attributed to the Buddha<sup>4</sup>.

It is a remarkable custom of all Buddhas that with their Divine eye they survey the world six times every day<sup>5</sup>. As something peculiar to Gautama Buddha, it is recorded that he measured 12 cubits, or as others have it, 18 cubits in height. This tradition is somehow countenanced by the dimensions of his sacred footprint, Śrīpāda, on the Adam Peak in Ceylon, measuring more than 5 feet in length and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet in breadth<sup>6</sup>.

The mental characteristics of a Buddha are divided into three categories, each of them comprising a certain sum of qualities: I. the 10 Balas or forces, powers; II. the 18 Avenika Dharmās or peculiar properties; III. the 4 Vaiśāradyas or points of self-confidence, of assurance.

The 10 Balas are: 1. the knowledge of what is fit or unfit; 2. of the necessary consequences of Karma; 3. of the right road leading to any end; 4. of the elements; 5. of the different inclination of beings; 6. of the relative powers of the organs; 7. of all degrees of meditations and ecstasy, as well as of their power to purify and fortify the mind; 8. of remembering former births; 9. of removing moral corruption<sup>7</sup>. On account of these powers a Buddha bears the epithet of Daśabala.

Sometimes we read of a set of four, of five, and of seven Balas<sup>8</sup>. These, however, are not peculiar to Buddhas.

<sup>1</sup> CHILDERS s. v. *jaccho* and the references there. From the epithets *Madgaṣṭhina-tappa*, solitary as the rhinoceros, and *vaṣpaṭṭhin*, mixing with society, associating himself, Vyu. § 45 (*vaṣpaṭṭhin*, S. Nip. p. 151) we may gather that some Pratyekas are rigid hermits of the wilderness; others more sociable, perhaps living as monks, or at least frequenting villages.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāpariṣadakkhaṇam as a branch of science occurs S. Nip. p. 102; cp. Brhat-Saṃhita Chap. LXIX. — It need not be told that Mahāpariṣad and Puruṣottama are common epithets of Viṣṇu.

<sup>3</sup> See Dharmas. pp. 53—60; and add Mhv. II, 29 ff. and 213 ff.; ALABASTER Wheel of the Law 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> HARIV. M. of B. 397.

<sup>5</sup> Divy. 95.

<sup>6</sup> HARIV. M. of B. 364 ff. BURROUF. Let. 622.

<sup>7</sup> See Dharmas. I, XXVI, with the references, and add Mhv. I, 159, f. where we have to read, instead of SENART's conjecture *mayarāhāṇi*: *anuddhāṇi*; i. e. *anavasthāṇi*, illimitedness, and *anuddhāṇi*, illimited powers, almost as the MSS. have it.

<sup>8</sup> Four in Aṅg. N. II, p. 141; seven in Dh. Saṅg. 95—102; three with CHILDERS s. v. *satya*, and cp. Dharmas. XI, VIII, note.

The 18 *Āvenika* Dhammas, otherwise termed Buddha-dhammas or qualities of a Buddha, are, shortly stated, the following: 1. the seeing of all things past; 2. of all things future; 3. of all things present; 4. propriety of actions of the body; 5. of speech; 6. of thought; 7. firmness of intention; 8. of memory; 9. of *Samādhi*; 10. of energy; 11. of emancipation; 12. of wisdom; 13. freedom from fickleness or wantonness; 14. from noisiness; 15. from confusedness; 16. from hastiness; 17. from heedlessness; 18. from inconsiderateness<sup>1</sup>.

The 4 *Vaiśāradyas* (*Vesārajās*) are: 1. the assurance of the Tathāgata that he has attained omniscience; 2. that he has freed himself from sin; 3. that he knows the impediments (*antarāyika-dharma*) to Nirvāṇa; 4. that he has shown the right way to salvation<sup>2</sup>.

It is quite in keeping with Indian habits that the qualities and functions of such a sublime being as the Tathāgata are indicated by a host of epithets which more or less assume the character of proper nouns. The most common appellations are Buddha, Jina, Sugata, Tathāgata; decidedly titles are Arhat, Śāstṛ, Bhagavat; many other names are descriptive epithets, as Daśabala, Lokavid, Puruṣadamyasārathi, Sarvajña, Śaṣṭhājña, Abhūta, Narottama, Devātideva, Trikārajña, Triprātihāryasampanna, Nirbhaya, Niravadya, and the like<sup>3</sup>.

Apart from the epithets applying to Buddhas in general, there are special names for the Buddha of the present period; as Sākyasiṃha, Sākyamuni, Sākyapaṇḍava, Śākya, Saṇḍhiodarī, Ādityabandhu (in contradistinction to Kṛṣṇabandhu, i. e. Māra), Sūryavamsa, Siddhārtha, Sarvāsthasiddha, Āgīrasa, Gautama<sup>4</sup>.

In the oldest system of historical Buddhism, we have cognizance of, the Buddha of the present period had been preceded by 24 others. Their names are, in Pāli: Dipamkara, Kondañña, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassin, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Samedha, Sujāta, Piyaḍassin, Athadassin, Dhammadassin, Siddhartha, Tissa, Pussa, Vipassin, Sikhin, Vesabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇagamana, and Kassapa<sup>5</sup>. Each of them has his peculiar Bodhi tree, e. g. Dipamkara the *Ficus religiosa*, just as Gautama Buddha.

Many of these Tathāgatas are also mentioned in N. writings, but not systematically, and lumped together with others of later invention<sup>6</sup>. The last

<sup>1</sup> The order slightly different in *Vyu.* § 9. Cp. *Dharma-S.* LXXIX, note. *Avanika* or *Avanika* means "peculiar, exclusively proper"; e. g. *Jāt.* IV. p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Āg.* N. II. 9. See further *Dharma-S.* LXXVII.

<sup>3</sup> A remarkable string of epithets is contained in Upālī's hymn *Majjh.* N. I. p. 386, which would afford matter for a complete Buddhology. Rich also is the list *Vyu.* § 1, and the enumeration *Lal.* V. 349-364; very poor in *Amara-kōṣa* I, 8, and *Diry.* 95.

<sup>4</sup> Gautama without the addition of Buddha is a rather irreverential term for a believer. It is only by his opponents and unbelievers (who need not be unfriendly, though) that he is called "Sramana Gautama". The most reverential term is Bhagavat, Lord. The rendering of this word with "Blessed One" is hardly right, as is proved by the meaning of the shortened *bhagav* and *bhāg*. Bhagavat is essentially the same word as Slavonic *bagavŭ*, rich; Russian *bagavŭ*, a rich man; a meaning naturally passing into that of "a lord". It bears to the shortened Vedic vocative *bhagav* and the still shorter *bhāg* nearly the same relation as French *Seigneur* to *Monsieur*, and English *Sir*. Nothing is more common than that words properly meaning *dominus* are applied to ecclesiastical worthies: e. g. Dom, Dominus, Kuningas, Rabbi etc.

<sup>5</sup> Their history is recorded in *Buddhav.* and *Jāt. Intr.* I. p. 3 ff. Properly there are three more Tathāgatas, to wit Taphakara, Medhakara, and Saranākara, but they are not taken into account, because it was Dipamkara who first predicted the future Buddhahood of Gautama Buddha; *Dhp.* p. 117, and cp. *Mhv.* I. 432, ff.

<sup>6</sup> See in *Horussoe Ess.* p. 33 the lists drawn from *Lal.* V. and other works. Thirty-two Tathāgatas are enumerated *Lal.* p. 113.

seven Tathāgatas, to wit, Vipasyin, Śākin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kāṣkapa, Kāśyapa, and Sākyamuni are common to the North and the South, and are designated in N. texts as the Mānuṣi-buddhas. Sometimes we find that the four last Buddhas, Sākyamuni included, received special worship<sup>1</sup>.

Just as there were Tathāgatas in the past, so there will be in future. The Buddha of the next following period is Maitreya, P. Metteya, surnamed Ajita, at present still a Bodhisattva living, it would seem, in the Tūṣita heaven<sup>2</sup>.

All Tathāgatas are alike, save in a few points of no importance; they differ e.g. in size, and in duration of life; some are born as Kṣatriyas, others as Brahmins<sup>3</sup>. The Law proclaimed by all Tathāgatas is likewise one and the same, and when it is stated that Gautama Buddha evolved the Law from within himself without the aid of a master, the meaning is that by his intuition he re-discovered the old truths which had been forgotten in the night of dark times<sup>4</sup>.

A peculiar sort of Buddhas, wholly anomalous, — for they are eternal and never were Bodhisattvas, — are the five Dhyaṇi-Buddhas of the Mahāyānists: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amītibha, or Amītyu(s), and Amogha-siddhi. Their female counterparts, Tārās or Śaktis, are: Vajradhātṛvārā, Locanā, Māmaki, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā<sup>5</sup>.

It is a common opinion among European *savants* that the Buddhas preceding Sākyamuni are mythical, the latter alone being historical. That theory, whether true or false, is entirely opposed to the fixed dogma of *Historical* Buddhism. Of course, we may surmise that in original Buddhism the matter stood otherwise. Such a supposition is allowable, provided we do not confound an hypothesis of our own ranking with the facts of sober history.

Having surveyed the external and internal characteristics of a Buddha, we revert to the question: "What kind of being is a Buddha?" The answer is given by the Lord himself. Once upon a time the Brahman Doṇa, seeing the Lord sitting at the foot of a tree, asked him: "Are you a Deva?" And the Lord answered: "I am not". — "Are you a Gandharva?" — "I am not". — "Are you a Yakṣa?" — "I am not". — "Are you a man?" — "I am not a man". On the Brahman asking what then he might be, the answer was, "Know, o Brahman, that I am a Buddha"<sup>6</sup>. Here the Buddha denies flatly and categorically that he is a man. This dogma has not undergone any change by the later development of the creed in Mahāyānism. In such an authoritative book as the Lotus the anthropomorphism of the Tathāgata has

<sup>1</sup> Krakucchanda and Kāṣkapa in Milv. I, 2; II, 265; Koṣaḥemana on a *base-relief* of Bharhut, Pl. XXIX; *Kaustubhena* in the edict of Nigihva (Bihar, Academy of 27 April 1895). — Cp. Dharma-S. VI and note and the translation of the Sapta-buddha-Stotra in Wilson Works II, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Already in the sculptures of Bharhut and Sānci: in the time of Fa Hian at Sāṅkaiya, Rec. p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> This may be inferred from the story related by Fa Hian, Rec. p. 25; in the Lotus we meet him on the Vulture Peak. His future appearance is predicted by the Lord in Mil. P. 159.

<sup>4</sup> The Buddha of the present period is by birth a Kṣatriya, by genius and conduct a Brahman; Mil. P. 225.

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion Mil. P. 217; cp. 236.

<sup>6</sup> See references at Dharma-S. III and IV, where some variations may be observed. Cp. D. WAGNER Hist. of Nepal, II. VI; a discussion on the origin and character of the Dhyaṇi-Buddhas in Versl. Meded. K. Akad. of 1888, p. 38 ff. Cp. also WARELL *Buddh. of Tib.* 346—369; Wilson Works II, 11—25.

<sup>7</sup> Alg. N. II, p. 38. Cp. such passages as Samy. N. I, p. 67; *saddhammaṃ bhavaṃ Buddhaṃ aggaṃ parameṣṭhaṃ*; his title *devatideva*; his power to free the Sun and Moon from Rāhu; op. c. pp. 50; 52.

been reduced to a minimum, and the traits lent to him are not a whit more real than e. g. those of Avalokiteśvara<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, in all periods of the creed the Buddha is only anthropomorphic, not a man. What he may have been in prehistoric Buddhism, must be left to individual taste and fancy; it is no matter of science.

## 7. BODHISATTVAS AND THEIR QUALITIES.

The sublime place occupied by the Buddha cannot be reached before his having gone through numerous, nay innumerable existences, and having lived in lower and higher states. A being destined to develop into a Buddha is called a Bodhisattva; he is, we may say, a Buddha *potentiâ*, not yet *de facto*. Properly "Bodhisattva" simply means "a sentient or reasonable being", possessing *buddhi*, but this faculty has not yet ripened to *samyak-sambuddhi*, perfect sensibleness. He is, in a word, the personification of what the Yogins call *buddhisattva*, potential intelligence, just as the Buddha, the Samyak-sambuddha, personifies *buddhi*, the highest product of nature in most Indian systems of philosophy based on cosmogony.

In the evolution of a Bodhisattva — usually called his *course*, *carya* — one distinguishes three periods: 1. that of the aspiration (*abhisambhava*); 2. of the prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) by the Tathāgata of the period that the aspirant once shall become a Buddha; 3. of the tumultuous acclamation (*śalākha*) at the approach of his last birth<sup>2</sup>. Others distinguish four periods: 1. that of the intention (*manas*); 2. of the vow or firm resolution (*prajñāna*); 3. of pronouncing that vow (*satkṛpānīdhāna*); of the revelation (*trivṛṇaya*)<sup>3</sup>. Similarly in N. writings, albeit with some variations: 1. Prakṛicaryā, original course; 2. Prajñādhāna-c., course of the vow or firm resolution; 3. Anuloma-c., course in accordance with the vow taken; 4. Anivartana-c., the course in which no sliding back is possible<sup>4</sup>.

The Bodhisattvas, like the Buddhas, are honoured with various epithets, the most common being Mahāsattva<sup>5</sup>. A great number of them are honoured by the Mahāyānists. The most celebrated, apart from Maitreya, who is also known in the South, are Avalokiteśvara or Lokēśvara and Mañjuśrī<sup>6</sup>. It is

<sup>1</sup> The Mādhyamikas, reasoning upon the old Buddhist axiom *saṃsāra śūnyam*, arrive, most logically, at the conclusion that the Buddha himself is as void and nothing as all the rest; BUXFORME Intr. 481; WASSINKER B. 348; SCHWARTZ, Ueber das Mahāyāna, 207. Implicitly this absolute Nihilism is contained in the passage S. Nip. p. 303, already cited; cp. Majjh. N. I, 297; DHARMAPALA II, 239. In absolute truth, Paramārtha, there is neither *nirvāṇa* nor *Māra*; Śāntideva, Zapski IV, p. 219. In other words: there is no such thing as Nirvāṇa; it is a mere delusion; the very idea of Nirvāṇa springs from Avidyā; BRAD. Cat. 125.

<sup>2</sup> This we may infer from Jāt. Intr. p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> HARDY M. of B. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Māy. I, 1; 46 ff. The prediction, *Vyākaraṇa*, of future Buddhahood, takes place in the fourth period; it is repeated by subsequent Buddhas.

<sup>5</sup> This we may render with "Noble Being", though it looks as a veiled synonymous term for Bodhisattva. For *mañāt* is synonymous with *buddhi* — *bodhi*. Other epithets in Vyā. § 22.

<sup>6</sup> Vyā. § 23, where the list opens with *Avalokiteśvara*; in Dharmap. XII only eight are named, and, strangely, with omission of Avalokiteśvara; see the note on l. c. for synonymous names, and other divisions. Several Bodhisattvas are honoured by Śāntideva. In Bodhicaryā, chiefly Mañjuśrī; Zapski IV, pp. 158; 161; 225. On Lokēśvara, cf. Maitreya op. Versl. Meded. K. Ak. of 1888, pp. 14; 42. See further WADZUM JRAS. of 1894, p. 51; Buddh. of Tib. 356 on Avalokita.

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hardly to be doubted that these worthies, like so many other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, have been canonized after the time of Aśoka.

The being who one day should appear as Gautama Buddha, went through numberless births during incalculable ages before he attained Buddhahood, after receiving the prediction to his future destiny from 24 Buddhas<sup>1</sup>. The prehistory of Sākyamuni, the Buddha of the present Bhadrakalpa, in connection with the predictions of former Tathāgatas, is recorded in S. and in N. Buddhist texts without material discrepancies<sup>2</sup>. Memorable occurrences and great feats (*apadāna*, *avadāna*) in his prehistory, are related in a number of tales called Jātakas and Avadānas. Such stories occasionally occur inserted in other works, but there exist also separate collections of Jātakas and Avadānas, some of them reckoned to belong to the canonical books, others composed or rather retouched by profane authors. The P. Cariyā-Piṭaka contains 35 stories exemplifying as many proofs of Pāramitā furnished by the future Gautama Buddha; a Skr. composition by Ārya Śūra, the Jātaka-Mālā, describes 34 Jātakas or Bodhisattvāvadānas<sup>3</sup>. There is certainly some connection between the number of stories in Śūra's composition and the epithet Catus-śiṣṣajātakajña of Buddha, although in the absence of a fixed date to be assigned to the origin of the epithet, the cause of the coincidence is not traceable. As to the 35 tales of the Cariyā-Piṭaka, we suspect that the number has something to do with the number of years passed by the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha-Gautama before he attained perfect and complete Enlightenment. However that may be, it is not easy to see how both numbers can be commensurable with the 10, or, if we reckon the subdivisions, 30 Pāramitās.

The Bodhisattvas are endowed with many eminent moral and intellectual qualities. Their most striking characteristic is compassionateness. They represent, in general, active virtue and highmindedness, in contradistinction to the Arhats, who are inactive. One might mark the difference between the two classes of persons by saying that the Bodhisattvas are compassionate, the Arhats unpassionate or passionless.

The 10 Pāramitās or Pāramis, perfect virtues, are, in Pāli, the Pāramitās of *dāna*, almsgiving; *sīla*, morality; *nekkhamma*, renunciation of the world; *pañña*, wisdom; *vīriya*, energy; *khanti*, forbearance; *sacca*, truthfulness; *adhiṣṭhāna*, resolution; *mettā* or *maññ*, charity; and *upekkhā*, indifference, equanimity; each of them divided into three degrees<sup>4</sup>.

Along with their eminent moral virtues the Bodhisattvas possess such intellectual qualities as are conducive to enlightenment, and which are therefore termed Bodhipāṅśika dharmas, Bodhipakṣadharmas, P. Bodhipakkhika, *ṇpakkhiya*, or Bodhapakkhiya, thirty-seven in number<sup>5</sup>. These qualities are

<sup>1</sup> The exact number is 4 Asaṅkhyeyas and 100 000 Kalpas; Saddh. S. p. 1; Bodhi-v. p. 11; less definite Mhv. I, 1: "In innumerable Asaṅkhyeyas, numberless Kalpas."

<sup>2</sup> Jāt. Intr. pp. 4 ff. ELLER M. of B. 89 ff. It should be observed that according to the theory of the Lokottaravādīs the primeval Buddha, near whom the future Sākyamuni made his vow to become a Tathāgata, is likewise named Sākyamuni; Mhv. I, 1. This seems to mean that the later Sākyamuni is an Avatāra of the primeval Sākyamuni, i. e. Adibuddha or Niyambhū; a tenet fully developed in the school of the Alivārikas; see HOUZEUR Ess. 46; 76. Cp. WAGNER, Buddh. of Tib. 126; 139; 348.

<sup>3</sup> On similar other collections see S. d'OLIVEIRA's paper "On the Buddhist Jātakas", already quoted above p. 7, note; and WAGNER's in Zapiski VII, 289.

<sup>4</sup> CHANDLER's Diet. p. 375. Vym. S 34 has likewise 10 P., but with substitution of Dhyāna, Upāya, Bala, and Jāna for Mettā, Nekkhamma, and Upekkhā; Prāṇadhāna answers to the synonymous Adhiṣṭhāna. A list of 10 P. also in Dharma-S. XVIII, but of 6 in XVII; see the notes there, and add Kāraṇa-Vc. II, 9; cp. on Kṣanti, Vīrya, Dhyāna and Prajñā-Pāramitā Bodhicary. Chapp. 8—11, in Zapiski IV, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>5</sup> CHILDERS s. v. *Bodhipakkhika*; Lal. V. 8; 218; Dharma-S. XLIII.

not, as is the case with the Pāramitās, peculiar to the Bodhisattvas, for they belong likewise to the Arhats. They comprize seven categories.

I. The four kinds of *Smṛtyupasthāna*<sup>1</sup>, presentness of memory, thoughtfulness: 1. in regard to the body; 2. to sensations; 3. to rising thoughts; 4. to Dharma.

II. The four kinds of application, right exertion, *Sammappadhāna*, N. *Samyak-prahāṇa*, already enumerated.

III. The four parts of miraculous power, *Rddhipāda*, *Iddhipāda*; as above.

IV. The five *Indriyas*, mental energies, faculties: faith, energy, memory or thoughtfulness, concentration of mind, and wisdom<sup>2</sup>.

V. The five *Balas*, mental powers, not differing from the *Indriyas*, unless in intensity<sup>3</sup>.

VI. The seven constituents of Bodhi, *Bodhyaṅga*, *Sambodhyaṅga*, to wit: memory, investigation (*dharmaṇīcaya*), energy, contentment (*prīti*), calm, concentration of the mind, contemplation (*samādhi*), and indifference or equanimity<sup>4</sup>.

VII. The Eightfold Path, *Aṣṭāṅgika-mārga* of the Āryas; already treated of.

Occasionally we come across other qualifications or faculties of Bodhisattvas, but they do not belong to the system of 37 Bodhipāksika dharmas, and are partly common to Bodhisattvas and Arhats<sup>5</sup>. To the latter amiable qualities, which should by no means be confined to those saintly persons, may be reckoned the four *Samgrahavastus* (*Samgrahavastus*), elements of friendly treatment; to wit: liberality in almsgiving; affability; officiousness, and co-operation<sup>6</sup>.

In N. texts the whole career of a Bodhisattva is divided into ten degrees or stages, *Bhūmis*, the system of which is amply described in *Mahāvastu*<sup>7</sup>. The most usual names are *Prāmaditā*, *Vimalā*, *Prabhākara*, *Arcaṇamā*, *Sudarjayā*, *Abhimukhi*, *Dhāraṇā*, *Acālā*, *Sādhumatī* (or *Madhumatī*), and *Dharmameghā*<sup>8</sup>.

The prerogatives or immunities of being a Bodhisattva are numerous<sup>9</sup>, and proportionate to their duties.

Before leaving this chapter we ought to note that the Bodhisattva births

<sup>1</sup> P. *Satipatthāna*, a compound of *satī* and *upatthāna*, as already observed by CHILDERS: cp. *parivāṇaḥ satīm upatthapetvā* Aug. N. II, p. 36; *pratiśatthānaḥ satīm upatthapetvā* Divy. 20. See further Sarg. N. I, 180; Lal. V, 218; Dharmas. XLIV. Synonymous terms are *Aṅgapatthanasamā* etc. Lal. V, 36; *āyagad satī*, *āyagapattani*, etc. belonging to the *Kammaṅgāna*.

<sup>2</sup> Dharmas. XLVII and the references; Vyu. § 41. The four *Indriyas* are the same with exception of wisdom: Aug. N. II, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Dharmas. XLVIII; Vyu. § 42. The four *Balas* are the same, except wisdom; Aug. N. I, c.

<sup>4</sup> Dharmas. XLIX and notes; Vyu. § 43; Majjh. N. I, p. 61; Mil. E. 83. Sometimes only 6 *Samādhi*dharmas are mentioned, memory being excluded; Aug. I, p. 53; here with cp. the *Yogaṅga* of the *Yoga*. — As to the rendering of *samādhi* cp. the synonymy of *Samādhi* and *Dhyāna* in *Bodhicaryā*, Zupiski IV, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> To the Bodhisattvas are ascribed 10 *Vasīlās*, mights; Vyu. § 27; Dharmas. I, XLIV. <sup>6</sup> The P. terms are: *dāna*, *prajāpāṇa* or *pāpāṇa*, *arthaṅkṛyā*, and *samānāṇaṇa*. Aug. N. II, p. 32; in Dharmas. XIX: *dāna*, *prajāpāṇa*, *arthaṅkṛyā*, and *samānāṇaṇa*; so, too, in Lal. 39; 183; 118; but *prajāpāṇa* and *arthaṅkṛyā*, slightly different in Mhv. I, 3: *dāna*, *samānāṇaṇa*, *prajāpāṇa*, and *samānāṇaṇaṇaṇa*, i. e. taking part in another's joy and sorrow. — The addition of the words "appertaining to kings" in CHILDERS (p. 44) is a mistake, as is evident from Aug. N. I, c. and Divy. 95.

<sup>7</sup> I, 76 ff. The names are: *Devatā*, *Buddhamatā*, *Puṣpamāṇitā*, *Ruciā*, *Gītā-vistāra*, *Rajaratā*, *Darjayā*, *Jasamāṇitā*, *Vaṇarajayā* and *Abhiṣeka-bhūmi*.

<sup>8</sup> For references see Dharmas. LXXV; cp. *Uṣabhamāṇa* in JRAS. of 1875, p. 4. — A list of 13 *Bhūmis* occurs Dharmas. LXX.

<sup>9</sup> Enumerated Jst. Intr. vsa. 232-238.



of Śākyamuni are frequently called his Avatāras, at least with the N. Buddhists. In the creed of the N. Church, or of some sects, it is admitted that these Avatāras had occurred not only in former times, but that the Buddha retained his power of Avatāra, of appearing on earth, as a Bodhisattva, even after his complete Nirvāṇa. Such an Avatāra of Śākyamuni was the prince Kuṇāla, the virtuous son of Aśoka<sup>1</sup>. If we remember that in the Lotus Śākyamuni declares his Nirvāṇa to be only a feint for the benefit of mankind, we cannot refrain from supposing that the masters of the Mahāyāna had no belief in an historical Nirvāṇa<sup>2</sup>. In fact, we have seen that with them the very idea of Nirvāṇa is a delusion.

### 8. MORALS.

The moral code of the Brahmanist Indians has professedly its roots in the Veda, tradition, the custom observed by good men, and one's own conscience<sup>3</sup>. Buddhist morality is dogmatically founded on, and referrible to the Buddha, for we read: "*Bhagavanūtilakā na dhamma Bhagavanūtilikā Bhagavampatisarapī*"<sup>4</sup>. Yet it does not necessarily follow from this dogma that the Buddha was supposed to have invented the whole of morality. On the contrary, the Master himself repeatedly extols the morals and virtues of the ancient Ṛṣis. "The Dharma", says he, "is the ensign of the Ṛṣis"<sup>5</sup>. The exemplary life and the great feats of generosity, self-sacrifice &c. of the Bodhisattvas might be adduced as an implicit evidence of what the Buddhists themselves believed about the moral faculties of mankind in pre-buddhist times. But more significant is the explicit statement by the Master that the Brahmins of yore were distinguished by the highest moral qualities<sup>6</sup>. Even the fact that the true, the genuine Brahman is not seldom represented as the noblest of creatures, in contradistinction to those who are merely Brahmins by birth, Bhovādins, or as the unbelievers call them, Brahmabandhus, would have been impossible if the type had wholly failed in common life.

In spite of the fore-mentioned dogma, Buddhism has wisely adopted many articles of morality and pious customs flowing from the sources of the Brahmanist code. When the Master commands that the pious Buddhist householder, *gahapati ariyasāvaka*, ought to perform the five Rāis: to the family, the guests, the Pitaras, the king, and the gods<sup>7</sup>, it is manifest that he draws from the Smṛti; and when he appeals to conscience, *dhammā*, notoriously a non-entity in Buddhism<sup>8</sup>, he authorized a view thoroughly at variance with the fundamental maxims of the creed.

<sup>1</sup> This is distinctly stated by Ksemendra in Avad. Kalp. Nr. 59; an older redaction of this charming tale occurs, as is well-known, in Divy. 403 ff.

<sup>2</sup> SBE. XXI, p. 307, ff. — It is a fact that the half pantheistic, half theistic views of the Mahāyānists were condemned by their opponents; WASSINKER II. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Manu II, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Majjh. N. I, p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Aṅg. N. II, p. 51. An exemplary Ṛṣi was the hermit Asita Deva, notwithstanding his following heterodox rules (*āśrāṇa mārga*); S. Nip. pp. 126 ff. Cp. Māv. II, 30, where the text, after due correction, runs thus: "yappravrajāṇ pravrajito mālaphalapatirabhiṭṭhaṇo utchasaṇṭhī." He had exercised the 4 Dhyānas and had realized the 3 Abhījñās.

<sup>6</sup> Brāhmasika-dhamma-S. in S. Nip. p. 59. The statement is the more remarkable because the same Sutta otherwise is a piece of wholesale and ungenerous, silly slander; cp. HARNV. Legends 42 ff. Though the Brahmins themselves are often calumniated, their gifts to the monks are always welcome and highly praised; liv. p. 111. Praise of the true Brahman, S. Nip. p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Aṅg. N. II, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> Aṅg. N. I, p. 149: "Attā te, purisa, jānāsi saccaṃ vā yadi vā musā." The addition





social customs of their heterodox country-men and contemporaries<sup>1</sup>. Far from being indifferent to public opinion, they anxiously avoided giving offence. Repeatedly we read how people are scandalized by the behaviour of some monks; how the question whether such a behaviour is or is not lawful is brought before the Master, and how his decision is always conform to public opinion<sup>2</sup>. In all such cases the Buddha is simply the echo of the public voice. This deference for the opinion of the world, *loka-dhīpatya*, I. *loka-dhīpatya*, goes so far that the Congregation, for aught we know, never straightforwardly attacks the family and matrimony. Therefore we cannot wonder if we meet in the canonical books with a detailed exposition of the various duties which children and parents, man and wife, master and servant, friends, ecclesiastics and lay men have to observe towards each other. A treatise in which the Buddha teaches a young layman the duties that were generally acknowledged in the Indian Smṛtis, is the Sigālovāda, known in a S. and a N. redaction<sup>3</sup>. Of moral lessons in poetical form there is no lack. Collections containing beautiful maxims, partly universally Indian in character, partly more specifically Buddhist, are the Dhammapada, the Maṅgala-Sutta, and the Udanavarga<sup>4</sup>.

As a whole the moral teaching of the Church bears witness to a certain breadth of view, not superior, indeed, to what is professed by individuals of other persuasions in India, but certainly to the usual catechism of other Indian creeds, which are moreover mixed up with offensive superstitions. A striking example that exclusiveness in matters of trifling importance cannot be laid to the charge of Buddhism is the answer given by the Lord to Devadatta, when the latter urged him to command that the monks should during their whole life abstain from fish and meat<sup>5</sup>. We know that the Tathāgata declined the demand.

Highly characteristic, too, is the discourse between the Buddha and the Licchavi Duke Siha, at Vaiśālī. On that occasion the Master declares that in a certain manner he teaches the value of action (*kiriya-vāda*), and in another respect the value of non-action (*akiriya-vāda*); that in a certain sense he teaches annihilation (*uccheda-vāda*), &c. Whereupon the terms used are subjected to a process of twisting and distortion to such an extent that all definiteness is lost<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions as the attack directed against the caste system in Assaḍāyana-S. are comparatively rare. The Vajrasūci with his contents stolen from Śaṅkara deserves notice only as a literary curiosity.

<sup>2</sup> Instances occur *passim* in the Vinaya; see e. g. MV. V; CV. III. Cp. Vajira, I, 136.

<sup>3</sup> Text in GOMMOT'S "Sopā Samas Pāṭi"; transl. by CHILDESS in the Contemporary Review of 1876. The N. text is only partially known from a Chinese version; BEAL, Trp. 112. — A detailed account of the duties of laics occurs in MAXMÜLLER Recherches I, 163—174, with copious references.

<sup>4</sup> The Maṅgala-S. ed. and transl. by CHILDESS in JRS. IV, 2 (New s.); Udanavarga transl. from Tibetan by ROCKHILL. The Dh. belongs properly to the Theravāda sect, as we may infer from Jataka-M. p. 98, l. 24. It is intended chiefly for members of the Order.

<sup>5</sup> The eating of fish and meat is allowed if it is pure in three respects, to wit: if one has not seen, nor heard, nor suspected (that it has been prepared for the purpose); MV. VI, 31, 14; CV. VII, 3, 13; Majjh. N. I, 368 ff. From the express prohibition of eating the flesh of men, elephants, horses, dogs, snakes, lions, tigers, bears, hyenas, we must infer that the flesh of other animals was no forbidden food; MV. VI, 23.

<sup>6</sup> MV. VI, 31; cp. I, 38; Tib. Leh. 268. The Buddha is both a *kiriya-vāda* and an *akiriya-vāda*, Aṅg. N. I, p. 62; Saṃy. N. I, p. 38; *Sammasamāsa* (*saddhamā*) *pariṇāmanā* is no contradiction. He does not teach *sabbam aññā*, nor *sabbam natthi*; Saṃy. N. II, p. 76; he declares to proclaim nothing else but what the *loka-paṇḍitā* teach; III, p. 138.

In the same discourse there is a trait of liberal-mindedness which should not be left unnoticed. When the Licchavi Duke, who was an adherent of the Jain sect, had become a convert to Buddhism, the Master administered to him the following charitable counsel: "For a long time, Sīha, your house has been a place of refreshment for the Nirgranthas. Therefore you should deem it proper that alms shall be given to them when they come to you".

It does not follow that the sons of Śākya much liked the Jains, nor that they were latitudinarians in matters of doctrine. On the contrary, heresy, *mithyadrsti*, is considered by them, like by many other religious communities, a most damnable sin, to be punished by the torments of hell<sup>1</sup>. Whether erroneous views outside the community were considered all equally wicked, is questionable. At any rate some heterodox sects were more abhorred than others; the gymnosophists of the Ājīvaka sect e. g. had the reputation of being most impious. On a certain occasion the Buddha is asked by a wandering mendicant of the Vatsa clan whether any Ājīvaka after death can become a denizen of heaven, not to speak of Deliverance. The answer is: "In the 91 Kalpas, Vātsya, I have remembrance of, I do not remember of any Ājīvaka having become a denizen of heaven, except one, and he was one who acknowledged the effect of Karma (*kammavaddha*) and the value of actions (*kāriyavaddha*)"<sup>2</sup>.

It is difficult to characterize the peculiarity of the Buddhist code of worldly morality, and that for two reasons. Firstly, because its articles do not differ from the standard recognised in India; secondly, because the spirit penetrating the prescriptions is different according to the divisions of the Church. Buddhism properly being a monastic institution, and the laity but accessory, it is natural that social customs and obligations were tolerated, after some pruning, if they were not in flagrant conflict with the dogma of the Church. Current moral tales were collected and received into the canon, after some remodelling and by transforming such tales into Jātakas and Avadānas<sup>3</sup>. By this contrivance the stories have acquired a strongly pious tinge, which is less accentuated or wholly wanting in the corresponding tales in the Mahā-Bhārata, Pañcatantra, Bṛhat-kathā, &c.

The second difficulty arises if we try to reproduce the different shades of moral sentiment we discover, on comparing the S. Buddhists with their brethren in the North, and further the Hinayānists with the Mahāyānists. Hinayānism has gradually been ousted by its opponents, and it may be said without exaggeration that the Buddhism of mediæval India bears the stamp of the Mahāyāna. Now it cannot be denied that charity and mercifulness are more predominant or at least more highly extolled in Mahāyānist texts than in other books, and so it is not to be wondered at that those virtues or sentiments have been looked upon as distinctive of Buddhism, even by Brahmanical authors, like Bāṇa. The ideal of the Mahāyānists, however lofty, is unhappily marred by the fact that to exemplify their own charity and mercifulness they begin with abjudging those virtues to all other creeds<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aug. N. II, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Majjh. N. I, p. 485. — The doctrine of the Ājīvakas — according to their opponents — is: *nañhi kammaṃ, nañhi kārīyaṃ, nañhi vibhavaṃ*; Aug. N. I, p. 248; cp. Digh. N. I, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> The circumstance that the Jātakas refer the occurrences to the times of the King Brahmadatta of Benares, shows that the home of these tales is the country near Benares, and not Magadha, where Buddhism arose.

<sup>4</sup> WASSILIEF B. 124.

Even towards their brethren of the Hinayāna their feelings were far from charitable<sup>1</sup>.

As a whole the Buddhists have shown themselves to be less exclusive and more liberal-minded than the adherents of other Indian religions inasmuch as in propagating their faith they did not attempt to hinduize their converts. By acting upon so sound a principle they have elevated their creed to the rank of a universal religion.

## PART IV.

### THE CONGREGATION. MODES OF WORSHIP.

#### 1. INDIAN MONACHISM. DISCIPLINARY AND ASCETIC RULES.

In many countries and at various times there were men who dissatisfied with the condition of society around them, or disappointed in their dearest expectations, fled the bustle, troubles, deceptive pleasures and wickedness of the world in order to seek in solitude or in the company of sympathizers quietude and peace of mind. Nowhere the conditions are so favourable for the development of anchorites and monastic life as in India. Climate, institutions, the contemplative bent of the national mind, all tended to facilitate the growth of a persuasion that the highest aims of human life and real felicity cannot be obtained but by seclusion from the busy world, by undisturbed pious exercises, and by a certain amount of mortification.

The time-honoured Indian institution of the four Āśramas contained all the germs of monachism; more than that, it afforded the example of a saintly mode of life. To begin with the Brahmacārin, he is obliged during the whole course of his study to observe absolute chastity; must refrain from intoxicating drink; take care not to hurt any living being; avoid the use of perfumes, unguents and finery; hold himself aloof from dancing, singing and other mundane amusements; show good breeding in all his manners; be clad in a deer hide and a red, reddish yellow or yellow robe. Moreover he has daily to beg his food<sup>2</sup>. These and similar obligations recur in the disciplinary code of the Buddhists and other mendicant Orders.

A Brahmacārin may, if he choose, remain a student for life at his teacher's, or after the teacher's death with the family of the latter, which, however, according to some authorities, is not necessary<sup>3</sup>. Such a Brahmacārin for life does essentially not differ from the Bhikṣu in a more restricted sense, otherwise called Yati, Mukta, Sannyāsin, Parivrājaka, i. e. the Ārya who has entered the fourth Āśrama. The rules of conduct for a Bhikṣu or Sannyāsin<sup>4</sup> have, up to minute details, served as the model for ordained monks of various sects.

We can understand that Brahmacārins for life, thirsting after true know-

<sup>1</sup> Huen Tsang qualifies them as "heretics" and accuses them of consplotting against his life; Voy. I, 246.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. Āpastamba I, 1; Gautama II; Menu II.

<sup>3</sup> Āpast. II, 9, 21, 6; 8; Gautama III, 3, 7; Menu II, 257.

<sup>4</sup> Āpast. II, 9, 21, 9-17; Gautama III; Menu VI, 41-86.





articles all in all; the Chinese version of the Dharmagupta sect numbers 250, the Tibetans 253, that of the Mahāvīryūtpatti 259<sup>1</sup>.

It has been ordered by the Lord that the Prātimokṣa is to be recited twice a month, on the Sabbath of the 15th (or 14th) of the half-month, in an assembly of at least four monks<sup>2</sup>. At the end of each section the reciter asks whether any of the brethren present has transgressed one of the articles. If so, the transgression must be openly confessed; if not, the recital proceeds. It is usual that the monks confess their sins to each other before the ceremony. Thus the disciplinary code is at the same time a formulary of confession.

Quite distinct from the Prātimokṣa in origin and purport is the summary of ascetic rules known as the Dhūṭāṅgas, the complete observance of which is only possible for monks who, like the brahmanical Vānaprasthas or Vaiśālīnāsas, lead the life of hermits in the woods. The number of the Dhūṭāṅgas or Dhūṭāṅgas is 13 in the South, 12 in the North<sup>3</sup>. We will treat of them severally in the order followed by the Pāli sources.

I. Pāṃsukūlika, scil. *śāga*<sup>4</sup>, is the rule that the dress is made of rags taken from a dust or refuse heap. This rule is not observed by all monks, no more than several of the following practices. So far as we can judge, there always were in the Saṅgha cenobites and hermits, Āraṇyakabhikkhus, the latter more rigid and partisans of an austere mode of life, Dhūṭāṅgavādins or Dhūṭavādins, as whose head in the times of the Buddha is considered Kāśyapa, P. Kassapa the Great<sup>5</sup>. This predilection for a solitary life is strongly expressed in many poetical songs, as if inspired by the fresh air of the woods<sup>6</sup>.

II. Trainivarika, P. techvarika is the precept enjoining the possession of no more than three robes at a time. This rule is binding on all the brethren, abstraction made of occasional exceptions.

III. Paṇḍapāṭika, P. pāṇḍapāṭika is the rule to live on food obtained by begging from door to door. Those who are strict observers of the rule make no use of food distributed by tickets (*śālaka-bhātta*), of fowl given to the Convent (*śālaka-bhātta*), of invitations for dinner. The last is contrary to the custom of the Buddha and his attendants; who regularly receive and accept invitations.

IV. Sapadāna-cārikā, explained to mean a proceeding from door to door in due order when begging<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Translations of the whole Patim. have been published by MINAYEV (in Russian), and by Prof. RAY DAVIES and OLSENSEN in SBE. XIII; of the part for monks by JACKSON in JRAS. VIII (New s.), and of the Chinese version by BEAL, Cat. pp. 204 ff.; of the Tibetan version of the Nāhsargika section by HUPH.

<sup>2</sup> MV. II, 4, 2.

<sup>3</sup> HARDY E. II, 9, 73, 97 ff. 120; BEAL Cat. 256; for other references see Dharma-S. LXIII, note. On the 28 merits of the Dhūṭāṅgas see Mil. P. 351. Synonyms or nearly so with Dhūṭāṅga is *śādhaka*, austere observance, Vyū. § 245; *śādhaka*, Pugg. P. p. 69; Majjh. N. I, 42; MV. VII, 1.

<sup>4</sup> This and the following terms, when masculine, denote the persons observing the rule; Pugg. P. p. 69; in Dharma-S. the masc. refers to *gṛha*.

<sup>5</sup> Uṇṇav. IV, 3; V, 7; Saṃy. N. II, 156; Dhy. 61; 395. The sect which is said to observe more rigidly than any other the Dhūṭāṅgas, are the Kassapiyas, Kāśyapiyas. — *Dhūṭavādins* in a less technical sense occurs Jāt. I, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Marked instances are the Khaggevatissa-S. (Nr. 3 and Nr. 12 of S. Nip.); Therag. vss. 518—526. The rigorists have much in common with the Pratyekabuddhas; cp. above p. 61, note.

<sup>7</sup> The Skr. form is *śāpadāna*, an adverb (as in P.) qualifying the manner of begging of an ascetic; it occurs e. g. Mhv. I, 301; Vyū. § 263, but it is not expressly included in the list of Dhūṭāṅgas. In Vis. M. (cp. CHILDERS s. v.) *śāpadāna* is interpreted by *ar-śāpadāna*, and *śāna* "cutting" with *śāpa-śāna*; but *śāna* = *śāna*, *śāna*.

V. Aikāsanika, ekāsanika, the rule of eating at one sitting<sup>1</sup>.

VI. Patrapinḍika, an article wanting in the N. enumeration, and enjoining "eating from one vessel only".

VII. Khalupaścādhakūka, P. khalupacchābhantika, the prohibition of taking a meal after it has become improper to do so; this has been interpreted as partaking of food already refused and superfluous<sup>2</sup>.

VIII. Āraṇyaka, P. Ārañhaka, living as a hermit in the woods.

IX. Vekkaṃmūlika, P. rukkhamaṇḍika, residing at the foot of a tree.

X. Ābhyāvakaśika, P. abbhokāsika, living in an unsheltered place<sup>3</sup>.

XI. Saṇḍhika, P. Soṇhika, living in or near a cemetery.

XII. Yāthāsantārika, P. yathāsanthatika, said to be "taking any seat that may be provided"; evidently wrong, for *santāra* is what is spread; *santhata*, spread. The nuns are forbidden to observe this, a prohibition which would have no sense if the term had the meaning assigned to it. The word denotes "spreading a night-coach where one happens to be"<sup>4</sup>.

XIII. Naṣadyika, P. nesajjika, enjoining a sitting posture while sleeping<sup>5</sup>.

The articles IV and VI are absent from the N. list, which on the other hand has a special Nāmatika (aṅga), the use of felt for clothing<sup>6</sup>.

In theory it is meritorious, but not obligatory for all monks to observe all of the Aṅgas. The articles VIII—XI do not apply to nuns, XI—XIII are expressly forbidden to them; Śrāmaṇeras and Śāmaṇeris are excluded from the observance of II, for the simple reason that they are not yet members of the Order. Lay devotees are allowed to keep the rules V and VI, but none of the others.

The 12 articles of the N. list are more logically arranged than the 13 Dhutaṅgas in Pāli; it is plain that the first six are rules for all members of the Saṅgha, whereas the last six are intended for the Ārañhaka bhikkhus<sup>7</sup>.

## 2. ADMISSION TO THE SAṄGHA. NOVICES. ORDINATION.

Persons desiring to renounce the world and embrace the life of a monk or nun, may be admitted without any distinction of rank or caste, with a few necessary restrictions; e. g. murderers, robbers, persons with contagious diseases, slaves, soldiers and the like are excluded. The act of admission is termed Pravrajyā, P. Palibhajjā, properly denoting in general "leaving the world, adopting the ascetic life." The ordination properly so called is the Upasampadā, by which one becomes a monk or nun with all the privileges belonging to the Order. The Upasampadā may be conferred on all who have previously been admitted to the Pravrajyā, except those who have

whereas *avakkajjanti* (*apakkajjanti*) = *atadāna*. The rule is superfluous, being included in the foregoing.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Alakkasādhajāna* Majjh. N. I, 437. The form Alakkasika occurs Aṅgas. P. Param. 387.

<sup>2</sup> For the scholastic interpretations we refer to CHANDLER II. p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> In Benham's works *abhoṭa-sāhita*, Rom. I. 43, 14; Mm. VI, 23. It is quite possible that the P. term answers to this word, as has been suggested by OLDENBERG; Dharm. S. p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Aṅgas. P. Param. 387. Analogous words are *yāvatāvatāpapa* and *yathāpamāṇīyāna* in Brahmanistic Literature.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Thorag vi. 904; 1123. — Vyū. § 49 has the form Naṣadika.

<sup>6</sup> In CV. N. to the wearing of *maṇḍaśat* is forbidden to the nuns; the use of felt for a covering is allowed; V. 11, 19.

<sup>7</sup> Some precepts of the most negative character for this class of persons are found CV. VIII, 6.

committed heinous crimes, eunuchs, hermaphrodites and the like<sup>1</sup>. As to nuns, there are 24 blemishes disqualifying them for the Upasampadā<sup>2</sup>. For the admission of Śrāmaṇeras, i. e. young novices, or rather seminarists, is required the consent of their parents and an age of full seven years.

The broad distinction between the first admission, Pravrajyā, and the Ordination, Upasampadā, is clear enough, but if we descend into the details, the matter becomes embarrassing. It would seem that at the rise of Buddhism the two terms denoted nothing else but what they originally mean, the former: "leaving one's home to become an ascetic"; the latter: "accession" to the Order. It appears from Scripture that the Buddha, after converting the Five mendicant friars, further Yāsas and other young men, gathered around him sixty Disciples, who in a very short space of time passed through the four stages, and asked the Master for the Pravrajyā and the Upasampadā simultaneously, whereupon the Lord received them<sup>3</sup>. After a while the Disciples who had been sent abroad to propagate the Law, returned with persons who wished to receive Pravrajyā and Upasampadā from the Master himself. This circumstance led the Buddha to the consideration that it would be well if henceforth the monks were permitted to confer themselves Pravrajyā and Upasampadā on candidates. He accordingly gives to the monks that permission, and adds: "Let him (who has to receive P. and U.) first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on the Kasāyas, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, bow down before the feet of the monks, and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and utter: I take refuge in the Buddha, in the Law, in the Congregation". Thrice. "I ratify, o monks, the P. and U. with this threefold formula"<sup>4</sup>. Afterwards, however, this regulation was cancelled, in so far as he ordered not to confer the Upasampadā, unless by a ceremony in which a formal motion (*śatthā*) is followed by three questions<sup>5</sup>. Even in this amended form the Upasampadā is nothing else but the solemn consecration of the Pravrajyā, as the story i. e. shows<sup>6</sup>. Cases of persons receiving simultaneously P. and U. are not rare; even in the days of Aśoka the lay devotee Bhaṇḍuka received P. and U. in the same moment, and Arhatship to boot<sup>7</sup>. As twenty years is the lowest age at which a man is qualified for U., it follows that a boy who has become a Śrāmaṇera at eight, will have to wait 12 years before he can receive Upasampadā<sup>8</sup>. It seems questionable whether in the beginning of the spread of

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances disqualifying persons for admission and ordination are minutely expounded MV. I, 39-76; cp. HARDY E. M. 17 ff. Vyū. § 271. Not a few of these disqualifications are merely theoretical; e. g. eunuchs and hermaphrodites are excluded from the Upasampadā, as if these physical disabilities were unknown at the Pravrajyā. More than absurd is the exclusion of Snakes; MV. I, 63.

<sup>2</sup> CV. X, 17; Vyū. § 271.

<sup>3</sup> Jāt. Jhāt. p. 82; MV. I, 6; 7. Cp. above p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> MV. I, 12. An extended form of the Trisaraga-gaṃana is: "Buddham Saṃgham gaacchāmi dīpaḍānāṃ aḡṛāṃ; Dharmam s. g. viratṛāṇāṃ aḡṛāṃ; Saṃgham s. g. gaḇḇānāṃ aḡṛāṃ." Vyū. § 267.

<sup>5</sup> Saṃhitasamāsa; MV. I, 28; Śāst. Jāṇḍiastarṇha-(karmopasaṃpanna) Vyū. § 270. In border countries the conferring of U. is allowed in a chapter of four monks, besides the Vinayadīpava; MV. I, 40, 12.

<sup>6</sup> It results from MV. I, 76 that the U. need not be preceded by a formal Prav. For the Senior who confers the U. asks the candidate: "Are you a human being?" etc. Such a question is always foolish, but excessively so if the candidate has already been examined before.

<sup>7</sup> Uṇḇar. XII, 62 f.

<sup>8</sup> CHILDERS D. p. 532; cp. p. 305, where the Śrāmaṇera is compared with "a deacon". A deacon of 8 years is something strikingly original. HARDY E. M. 45 has much better understood the character of a Śāmaṇera.

Buddhism children were admitted, notwithstanding the tale of Kāśhaka's *Paṭḍajjanā*<sup>1</sup>. However that may be, the Śrāmaneras are no more Bhikkus than the Brahmachārin, their model, are. They are Śrāmanopadesas, Śrāmanopadesakas, P. Samanuddesas, i. e. aspirants for the state of monk, persons destined to become monks, in a word, seminarists<sup>2</sup>. One of their duties is to learn the ten Śikṣāpadas<sup>3</sup>.

Converts from other, heterodox sects, who desire to receive P. and U., are subjected to the same formalities, and have moreover to pass a probation time, *Parivāsa*. Only two classes of persons, viz the Jajilas, fire-worshippers with matted hair, and the Sikkas, received Upasampadā — there is no question of Pravrajyā — without a probation time being imposed, the former because they believed in the retribution of moral actions, and the latter because the Master wished to grant a privilege to his kinsmen<sup>4</sup>.

The passages and testimonies adduced seem to warrant the conclusion that the real Ordination or Consecration takes place by the Upasampadā, whereas the Pravrajyā is the act by which the candidate formally declares his intention to take the vows. The regulations prescribed in Scripture have been collected in the manual for various Kammavācīs, Skt. Kammavācīs, ecclesiastical resolutions<sup>5</sup>.

In a chapter of at least 10 monks — under certain circumstances only 5, as already remarked above — the candidate, after having provided himself with the requisite alms bowl and robes, and chosen his spiritual leader or tutor, Upajjhāya, is examined by the president of the chapter<sup>6</sup> concerning his eventual disabilities, his name and the name of his spiritual tutor. These things being ascertained, the candidate requests to be ordained, whereupon the president formally proposes to the chapter to assent to this request, twice repeated. If the assembly by their silence give the consent, the president exhorts the newly ordained brother to stick to the four Necessaries<sup>7</sup>, and to avoid during his whole life the four capital sins. All things above the Necessaries, though not absolutely forbidden, are to be considered superfluities.

It would be difficult to point out a single case in Buddhist writings, sacred or profane, that the sons of Sūkyas kept to the four Necessaries, except the hermits. As to the four capital sins, which we shall meet again under

<sup>1</sup> The more so because, MV. I, 30, the Lord expressly forbids to confer the Pravrajyā on a boy under 15 years of age. In Tibet a Śrāmanera can receive a so-called ad consecration in his sixteenth year; in China it is not unusual that at the same age the ceremony of hair-shaving is performed; the *Cāstakānta-maṅgala* in Siam is a rite performed in the 9th, 10th, 13th, or 15th year. All these customs may be called "pagan accretions"; KÖRNER *Rel. des H. II*, 265; HARDY *E. M.* 18; GERINI, *Chūshamamāgala*, 2; 29.

<sup>2</sup> S. Vibh. II, p. 130; the femin. is Śrāmanopadesikā, Div. 160.

<sup>3</sup> MV. I, 36. The rule now followed in Ceylon (HARDY *E. M.* 23) is exactly the counterpart of the Brahmanic Upanayama.

<sup>4</sup> MV. I, 38.

<sup>5</sup> The manual has been published under the title *Kammavākyam*, syn. with *Kammavācam*, by SPENCER, with Latin transl.; partly by DICKSON with English transl. in JRAS. VII, 1 ff (New s.). Cp. BOWDEN in JRAS. of 1893; HARDY *E. M.* 44; BODANER II, 272; MV. I, 28; 30; 70; 77. A "collection of Kammavācīs" in FRANCKFURTER's *Handb.* pp. 142—156. Cp. also the Kalyāṇī Inscription of A. D. 1475, text and transl. by TAW SEN KO, *Ind. Ant.* XXII.

<sup>6</sup> Wrongly called Upajjhāya in DEHAENE I. c., contrary to MV. I, 76; cp. 25.

<sup>7</sup> The 4 Nissayas (MV. I, 30; 77) are: *piṇḍapāṭṭhājāna*, living on a pittance of begged food; *paṇḍulāṇḍarā*, rags from a dustheap; *vāṭṭamūlāṇḍarāna*, lodging at the foot of a tree; *pitumūlāṇḍarāja*, cow urine as medicine. The corresponding Skt. terms of the Nīkayas are: *pīṇḍāṭṭhā*; *paṇḍulā*; *vetraṇḍā*, and *pitumūlāṇḍarāja*, no unsuccessful attempt at rendering *pitumūlā* into Skt. Yju. § 266.

another head, the vow of the ordained monk to abstain from all sexual intercourse as long as his life lasts, is contrary to the theory that one may, under circumstances, leave the Order<sup>1</sup>.

The ordination of nuns is performed almost in the same manner as that of monks. She who proposes the candidate is titled the Pavatini<sup>2</sup>.

Regarding the Upasampadā ceremony in the old N. Church we possess few accounts, but sufficient to show that it was, essentially, the same as in the South. In course of time some modifications have been introduced which we must leave unnoticed<sup>3</sup>.

### 3. CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT. LODGING. FOOD AND MEDICAMENTS.

The complete, distinctive dress of the monks consists of three pieces, Tricivara, P. Tricivara; to wit: P. Antaravāsaka, Uttarāsanga, and Saṅghāṣī<sup>4</sup>. Another name for the habit after the colour, is Kāśāya, P. Kāśāya, Kāśāva, tawny, reddish yellow. In the South the usual colour is yellow<sup>5</sup>; in India, at least in the Middle Ages, it was reddish.

The description of the garments, as well as the identification of sundry other names, is attended with some difficulty. The Antaravāsaka is a lower garment, something like a petticoat, hanging low down, and bound to the loins with a girdle, *kajrabandhana*<sup>6</sup>. As synonymous is given Nivāsana, but the description of this garment by Huen T'sang is somewhat different<sup>7</sup>. The Uttarāsanga is the garment covering the breast and shoulders, and reaching somewhat below the knees. Something like it is the Saṅkaksika, according to Huen T'sang, but the P. Saṅkacchikā occurs elsewhere as another garment, and not belonging to the official dress<sup>8</sup>. Whether the Pajinivāsana, Skr. Pratinivāsana, may be identified with the Uttarāsanga is a matter of doubt<sup>9</sup>. Saṅghāṣī, properly meaning "a doublet" may have had a similar history as this English word. Once we meet the expression "the (two) Saṅghāṣīs folded together" to denote a third garment after Nivāsana and Pratinivāsana<sup>10</sup>. We infer that the Saṅghāṣī, a kind of cloak, is so called because it is folded and composite<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> HARDY E. M. 46.

<sup>2</sup> CV. X, 17.

<sup>3</sup> For Pravrajya and Upasampadā in Tibet, see WABER, Buddh. of Tib. 178; 185; cp. HODGSON Ess. 139; 145.

<sup>4</sup> MV. I, 76; VIII, 13; 15; 20; 23; CV. X, 17. In Skr. the same, only Antaravāsaka; Vyu. § 272.

<sup>5</sup> The red Kāśāya was not wholly unknown; see e. g. Therag. vs. 965.

<sup>6</sup> BEAUGREY II, 274. This agrees with the "ample plaited petticoat, named Sam-rabs" in Tibetan; WABER op. c. 201.

<sup>7</sup> According to Vyu. II, § the three robes are Saṅghāṣī, Uttarāsanga and Saṅkaksika, but p. 69 Saṅghāṣī, Saṅkaksika and Nivāsana! The exact shape of the Nivāsana MV. I, 25 cannot be determined.

<sup>8</sup> CV. X, 17. The Saṅkaksika is likewise distinguished from the three Cīvaras; also Vyu. I, c, where also a Pratinivāsika is mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> MV. I, 25; CV. VIII, 11; 12; Vyu. I, c.

<sup>10</sup> MV. I, c. Cp. the expression *paṇḍita-kāṣī saṅghāṣī-piṇḍa-śīvaṣaṭṭha* in Lal. V. 374. In the same work p. 231 the Saṅghāṣī is not reckoned as a Cīvara: *saṅghāṣī-piṇḍa-pāṭava-sāraṇāraṇa śīvaṣaṭṭha*.

<sup>11</sup> Leger, following FRETZ, defines the S. as the "double or composite robe, reaching from the shoulders to the knees, and fastened round the waist"; Rec. p. 39, note. WABER op. c. 200 says the S. is "the lower punched robe, and fastened by a girdle at the waist."



It is a peculiarity of the official habit that robes should be made out of patches imitating the ricefields of Magadha<sup>1</sup>.

Raiments occasionally used by monks and nuns are the *Varṣāsūṭi*, P. *Vassikasūṭikā*, rain-cloak; and the *Śnātrasūṭaka*, P. *Uḍakasūṭikā*<sup>2</sup>.

It is meritorious for the laity to provide members of the Order with clothing. A great distribution of robes to the local Saṅgha is held immediately after the *Pravāraṇā*, at the close of the rainy season. The ceremony of that distribution, elliptically called *Kāṭhina*<sup>3</sup>, is common to both divisions of the Church.

The use of foot covering is, in most cases, for the monks a luxury, and in the South almost unknown. In Scripture various descriptions of possible and impossible shoes are expressly forbidden; sandals and plain slippers not absolutely so<sup>4</sup>. Umbrellas are a superfluous article, except in particular cases. The use of fans, and of a plain sort of chowries, is allowed<sup>5</sup>.

Besides the three robes the monk's equipment, *Paṭikkāra*, P. *Paṭikkhāra*, consists of an alms bowl or pot, *paṭa*, P. *paṭṭa*; a girdle; a razor, *śāṭi*; a needle, *sāṭi*, and a water-strainer, *parisaḍḍana*, P. *parisaḍḍana*<sup>6</sup>. The pot is sometimes carried in a kind of net or purse, *ṭhaṭṭikā*, perhaps only by hermits<sup>7</sup>. The razor serves for shaving the hair and the beard. As a rule the brethren shave one another once a fortnight.

In the North the ascetics are in the habit of carrying as a distinctive a staff, *khakkhara*. The walking stick of an ascetic is also known in the South, under the name of *hattara*<sup>8</sup>.

According to universal Indian custom they use tooth sticks, *dantakūṭha*, P. *dantakūṭha* or *dantapapa*<sup>9</sup>.

Another article, the rosary, now so common in all Buddhist communities, does not date from very old times. Whether it was invented in India, is an open question. It is certainly not of Buddhist origin.

On the residence of the monks the sacred tradition affords much, apparently trustworthy, information. We are told that the Retreat during the rainy season, the *Vassavāsa* or *Vassa*, Skr. *Vārṣika*, was instituted in imitation of the same institution with the heterodox sects<sup>10</sup>. During that time the monks are forbidden to travel, and have to arrange for themselves places to live in. There are two periods for entering upon *Vassa*, *Vassūpanāyikā*<sup>11</sup>, a longer and a shorter one, the former beginning at full moon of Āśāḍha; the

<sup>1</sup> Ananda was the first who skillfully contrived to put together such a robe; MV. VIII, 12. The number of patches varies according to the difference of sects; WASSLIEF B. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Vyu. I. 6; MV. VIII, 15; 20; 23; CV. II, 1; X, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Kāṭhina*, hard, denotes "raw cotton." The regulations regarding *Kāṭhina* are minutely set forth MV. VII, 1, and explained in SBE. XIII, 18; XVII, 148 ff. WASSLIEF B. 85; 88; BRAL Cat. 216. Among the N. writings there is a *Kāṭhinavadāna*, HODGSON Ess. 19. The spreading out of the raw cotton is termed *Kāṭhinācārāpa*, P. *Kāṭhinācārā*; Vyu. § 266.

<sup>4</sup> More details in MV. 2—8. Cp. SIGADET II, 286; HODGSON Ess. 19.

<sup>5</sup> CV. V, 22; 23. Commonly the leaves of the Tala palm are used as fans. Hence the name of *Talapaṭṭa* given to the monks in Transgangeitic India; VULF-BURNELL, Glossary s. v.

<sup>6</sup> See CHILDERS s. v. *parikkhāra* and his references. Many more *Paṭikkhāras* are enumerated JPTS. of 1887, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> CV. VII, 6; Jst. Intr. p. 55. The Magadhi-Prakrit form is *ṭhaṭṭā*, Skr. *ṭhaṭṭā*.

<sup>8</sup> Vyu. § 273; Vey. II, 33. For *(hattara)paṭṭi*, *ṭhaṭṭa* see CHILDERS s. v. MV. V, 61 CV. IV, 4; V, 132.

<sup>9</sup> CV. X, 31; Vey. II, 55, note.

<sup>10</sup> MV. III, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Skr. *Vaṣṭupanāyika*, Divy. 18; 489; Vyu. § 265.

latter one month later; both ending with the full moon of Kārttika<sup>1</sup>. With the N. Buddhists the usual period of Retreat was three months, from the first of Śrāvastī to the first of Kārttika<sup>2</sup>.

It is not clear where in the first times of the Order the brethren, apart from the hermits, had their abodes, either during the Retreat or during the other part of the year. It was not necessary that a great number of them lived in the same place, for the half-monthly recital of the Prātimokṣa did not require an assembly of more than four persons. Now-a-days it is customary in Ceylon that the monks during the Retreat leave their monasteries and live in temporary huts. But how to reconcile this with the following statement of Buddhaghosa<sup>3</sup>, "They are to look after their Vihāra, to provide food and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as paying reverence to sacred shrines, etc., and to say loudly once, or twice, or thrice: 'I enter upon Vassa in this Vihāra for these three months?'" And besides, the avowed object of the institution is to keep the monks from roaming about. Therefore we arrive at the conclusion that the tenor of the regulation comes to this: during the rains the monks *must* stay in a monastery or any other fixed abode; in other seasons they *may* do so.

In the beginning, as the tale goes, the monks had no fixed abodes, *dayandana*, P. *senānana*. They dwelt in the woods, at the foot of a tree, on a hill, in a grotto, in a mountain cave, a cemetery, a forest, the open air, on a heap of straw. Now a rich merchant of Rājagṛha wished to erect dwellings for the reverends, and the Lord Buddha gave his assent saying: "I allow you, O monks, abodes (*dayana*, *lena*) of five kinds<sup>4</sup>: Vihāras, Aḍḍhaya-gas<sup>5</sup>, towers (Prāsādas, Pasādas), stone houses with a flat roof (Harmyas, Hammiyas) and crypts". On hearing from the monks that the Lord had given his assent, the merchant had in one day finished 60 dwelling places. The Lord gave thanks to him by the same stanzas as were uttered by him on accepting the gift of the Jetavana; a circumstance which points to some confusion in the tradition<sup>6</sup>.

The very absurdity of the story is interesting, because we may gather from it that edifices as above specified were in possession of the Saṅgha when the MV. and CV. were composed.

The term Vihāra does not only denote a monastery, but frequently a temple, a striking instance of which is afforded by a passage in Huen Tsiang's Travels, and it is quite so, too, in Ceylon, where the word is more generally applied to the place where worship is conducted, whilst the dwelling of a monk is called a Pappasāḷa<sup>7</sup>. The most unambiguous, if not the most common term for a monastery is Saṅghārāma. Undoubtedly every great monastery had a Vihāra or temple annexed to it. We know this with certainty of Nālandā, and Sāmāth near Benares<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> MV. III, 2; the translators (SBE. XIII, 300) add in a note: "Very probably this double period stands in connection with the double period prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras for most of the Vedic festivals."

<sup>2</sup> So at least in the 7th century of our era. Voy. II, 492.

<sup>3</sup> Cited SBE. XIII, 1. c.

<sup>4</sup> MV. I, 30; III, 5; CV. VI, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Explained by Buddhaghosa (SBE. XIII, 171) by "suvaṇṇapaṇḍagaḥ", i. e. a house of gold and tin? CAMDEN s. v. gives "shaped like a Garuda bird", which points to a reading *suvaṇṇa* (or *suvaṇṇa*) *sūvaṇṇa*. *Suvaṇṇa* for *Suvarṇa* is not unknown to some N. texts.

<sup>6</sup> CV. VI, 9; MV. I, 30; III, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Voy. II, 221; HARVEY E. M. 129 description of a Vihāra, 300.

<sup>8</sup> Voy. II, 355.

The crypt or cave, *guha*, above alluded to, must be a room wholly or partly excavated in a rock. The oldest crypts known are those of Barāhar and Nāgarjuni in Bihār<sup>1</sup>, which were given by Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha to the Ājivikas, those inveterate opponents of the Saṅgha.

The house where the chapter assembles for celebrating the Uposatha is called in general Uposathāgāra, in Sinhalese: Poega. A famous Uposatha hall in Ceylon was the Lohapāsāda or Brazen Tower. — The cells in a monastery are termed in Pāli *pariṣeṇa*<sup>2</sup>. Occasionally we read of *kuṭis*, huts or sheds, inhabited by ascetics.

A matter of considerable interest is the institution of Parishes, *śūmā*. Like so many other regulations of the Church, the institution is due to the irrepressible Six monks<sup>3</sup> who were as indefatigable evil-doers as the six Tīrthikas. After the Lord had ratified the recitation of the Prātimokṣa once every half-month, the Six recited it every one before his own companions. The Master, being informed of it, ordered that the Uposatha should be attended by the whole community. Now the question arose: "how far does the whole community extend?" This was settled by a prescription that it should extend as far as one place of living. Now at that time Kappina<sup>4</sup> the Great dwelt near Rājagṛha. Plunged in meditation, he felt a doubt: "Shall I go to the Uposatha service or shall I not go?" The Lord understanding the thoughts of Kappina, left the Gḍhṛakūṭa and instantly appeared before the eyes of Kappina. Having taken the seat presented to him, the Master asked Kappina, whether he had not felt the doubt just mentioned. On receiving an affirmative answer, the Lord proceeded: "If ye Brahmanas do not honour, regard, reverse the Uposatha, who then will do it? Attend the Uposatha, Brahman! do not neglect to go." Kappina promised to do so, and the Lord appeared again on the Gḍhṛakūṭa<sup>5</sup>. Still the monks remained in uncertainty as to the question: "How far does a place of living extend?" Therefore the Buddha prescribed to mark out the boundaries of a parish, *śūmā*, in this way: first, the marks are to be mentioned, such as a mountain, a stone, a forest, a tree, a road, an ant hill, a river, a water-sheet. This being done, a competent monk has to bring forward a motion that the Saṅgha may decree to fix by such marks the boundary of a parish for common residence and common celebration of the Uposatha<sup>6</sup>. Some abuses partly occasioned by the crossness of the Six were successively remedied.

Reverting to the monasteries, we observe that the most reliable and detailed accounts about the actual state of the Saṅghāgāmas in the Middle Ages, both in India and in Ceylon, are due to the Chinese pilgrims. It appears

<sup>1</sup> CUNNINGHAM Corp. Inscr. I, 30; Ind. Ant. XX, 361 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hence *amārasenāpitas*, in their successive cells; XIV, II, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Chakkaḍḍipā*, in Skr. *ṣaṣṭhaḥṣṭa*, *ṣaṣṭhaḥṣṭa*; Divy. 329; 396; 489; Vyu. § 281. Their names § 282 are: Aśvaka, Pūnarvasa, Nanda, Upamanda, Chanda, and Udayin. In P. sources Assaji and Punābhāsuka are directly named as belonging to the group, but it appears from XIV. and XV. *pariṣeṇa* that Nanda, Upamanda, Chanda and Udayin were obstinate sinners and quite worthy to be reckoned among the company. Assaji is likewise one of the five, but in Vyu. I. c. (cp. § 47) Aśvajit and Aśvaka are different persons.

<sup>4</sup> In N. writings Kappiṇa, Kappiṇa, Kappiṇa, etc. See SIE. XX, 2; 198.

<sup>5</sup> An unequivocal acknowledgment of the precedence of Brahmanas in spiritual matters, and of their giving in general a good example.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Mahāvastu: Sakyamuni is properly always residing on the Gḍhṛakūṭa, and it is only an illusion when men imagine they have seen him in other places; SEE. XXI, 307 ff. Other Indians seem say: the Xuman is *Upasatha*.

<sup>7</sup> XV. II, 5—9. Cp. the fixing of boundaries of a parish (*śūmā* *parimāṇa*) as related Dipav. XIV, 26; Mahav. pp. 108 ff. Cp. also Manu VIII, 246.

that the *Āvāsikas*<sup>1</sup>, resident monks, those staying at their own monastery, had a life free from care owing to the liberality of the kings and pious laymen. "The regular business of the monks is to perform acts of meritorious virtue, and to recite their *Sūtras* and to sit wrapped in meditation. When stranger monks arrive, the old residents meet and receive them, carry for them their clothes and alms-bowl, give them water to wash their feet, oil with which to anoint them, and the liquid food permitted out of the regular hours. When (the stranger) has enjoyed a very brief rest, they further ask the number of years that he has been a monk, after which he receives a sleeping apartment with its appurtenances, according to his regular order, and everything is done for him which the rules prescribe<sup>2</sup>." All this harmonizes with the rules how stranger monks, *Āgantukas*, should be received, as laid down in the P. Vinaya<sup>3</sup>, which contains likewise minute rules for departing monks, *Gaṇikas*, for monks when going their begging round, *Piṇḍacārikas*, and for those living in the woods, *Ārañṇakas*<sup>4</sup>.

It is a matter of course that the conduct of the necessary business in a monastery is almost wholly entrusted to such brethren as are thought fit for the office and in due form appointed by the Saṅgha<sup>5</sup>. An important office is that of the apportioner of food, *Bhātaddesaka*, Skr. *Bhaktoddēśaka*. In the days of the Buddha this office was held by Dabha, who at the same time was the regulator of the lodgings, *Senāsanaṇḍāpaka*, *Sayanāsanavārika*<sup>6</sup>. Other charges said to have been instituted by the Master are: the keeper of stores, *Bhaṇḍāgārika*, *Bhaṇḍagopaka*; the recipient of robes, *Civaraṇṇigāhaka*, *Civaraṇṇopaka*; the distributor of robes, *Civaraḍḍhārika*; of rice gruel, *Yāgaḍḍhārika*, *Yavāgūcāraka*; of fruits, *Phalabhārika*, *Phalacāraka*; of hard food, *Khaṇḍakabhārika*, *Khūḍyakacāraka*; of trifles, *Appamattakavissajjaka*<sup>7</sup>; of voting tickets, *Salākaḍḍhāpaka*; the keeper of rain-cloaks and bathing-clothes, *Sāpiyagāhāpaka* or *Vareṇṇasāṅgopaka*; the keeper of alms-bowls, *Panaḍḍhāpaka*; the superintendent of the gardeners, *Āraṇṇikapeśaka*; of the *Sāmaṇeras*, *Sāmaṇerapeśaka*<sup>8</sup>. Some other offices the character of which is but partially inferrible from the names occur in N. sources; e. g. the *Pāṇiyavārika*, who has charge of drinkable water; the *Bhājanavārika*, who has charge of the vessels. Less clear is the meaning of *Upadhivāra* or *Upadhivārika*, probably an intendant or steward<sup>9</sup>. The *Parisaṇḍhivārika* may be the guardian of the grove around the monastery<sup>10</sup>, and the *Muṇḍasayanāsanavārika* the person who has to take care of the lodgings temporarily not in use.

Now and then we read of certain offices for which no formal appointment by the Saṅgha seems to be required. Such an office is that of *Navakarmika*, P. *Navakammika*, the overseer of a new building, architect, who is designated on the demand of some lay devotee who wishes to erect a building

<sup>1</sup> *Naivāsika* is the term *Vyu.* § 270.

<sup>2</sup> Pā. Hiam, Rec. pp. 43, f.

<sup>3</sup> Minutely described CV. VIII, 2. In *Vyu.* § 270 an *Āgantuka* differs from an *Āgāṇika*; not unlikely the former is a stranger, a visiting monk; the latter one who returns after a longer or shorter absence; but cp. Divy. 30.

<sup>4</sup> CV. VIII, 31 § 6.

<sup>5</sup> Names of functionaries in CV. IV, 4; VI, 21; *Vyu.* § 274.

<sup>6</sup> Dabha Mallaputta was a remarkable man; he realized Arhatship when he was seven years old and had to endure much vexation at the hands of the brethren; for his history see the passages referred to by E. MÜLLER *JPTS.* of 1888, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the same as the *Mūṇḍasāyaka* *Vyu.* l. c.

<sup>8</sup> *Vyu.* l. c. has only *peśaka*.

<sup>9</sup> Decidedly not "an attendant", as appears from Divy. 342; cp. 30; 34; 337.

<sup>10</sup> For *parisaṇḍhī* cp. Divy. 344.

for the Congregation<sup>1</sup>. The function of a proxy or agent, *Veyāvaccakara*<sup>2</sup>, may be held by an inmate of the monastery (*āramika*) or a layman<sup>3</sup>.

In ancient times no distinction in rank was made between the monks, except such a one as is connected with age and superior knowledge. There were, of course, Seniores, Sthaviras, P. Theras, and Juniores, Dāhuras, Dāharas; Upādhyāyas, P. Upajjhāyas or Upajjhas, i. e. tutors, and Sādhavihāriṇs, P. Sādhavihāriṇs or Sādhavihārikas, fellows<sup>4</sup>; Aśāryas, P. Acariyas, professors, and Antevāsins, apprentices; but there is no question of anything like hierarchy. This state of things has continued in Ceylon, where, indeed, each monastery has its Maḥi-Nāyaka, prior, but he is no more than *primus inter pares*. This was not exactly the case in India during the Middle Ages, at least in the Mahāyānist establishments. For shortness sake we refer the reader to Huet Thang<sup>5</sup>.

The prescriptions in the canonical writings concerning food are framed in such a manner that both the rigorous hermits and the more temperate cenobites may be satisfied. Art. 39, Tit. 5 of the Prātimoksa says: "If a monk, unless he be sick, shall request for his use, or shall partake of delicacies, to wit: ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish, meat, milk, curds — it is a Pācittiya sin." This prohibition is not in accordance with the permission to eat fish and meat<sup>6</sup> with the restriction that it should be pure in three respects: unheard, unseen, unsuspected. The restriction being utterly futile, since it is impossible not to suspect how meat and fish are provided by butchers and fishers, the antinomy remains in full force<sup>7</sup>. Yet the origin of such an incongruity, like of so many other antinomies, is not far to seek. It has been the constant study of the Congregation to imitate the morals and customs of fashionable people; they ardently desired to pass for Āryas and therefore made an excessive use of the very word. They began with taking for their models the Brahmans and the Brahman ascetics, though in course of time they did not scruple to spread the most unworthy lies about a class of men of whom intelligent foreigners like the Greeks speak with admiration. Now the use of fish and meat was allowed to Brahmans under certain restrictions<sup>8</sup>, but the ascetic had to refrain from meat and honey<sup>9</sup>. The Indians acknowledge that the decreasing use of animal food and complete abstinence is a peculiarity of the Kaliyuga; with other words: a sign of degeneration<sup>10</sup>. We may safely assume that the Buddhists followed the prevailing custom of the times, and that in other countries they have done the same<sup>11</sup>.

The spiritual sons and daughters of Sākyamust earn their living by their own exertion, i. e. they must beg their food, like the Brahmacēriṇs, but with this difference that they are not allowed, as the latter are, to ask for alms by

<sup>1</sup> CV. I, 18; VI. 5; Vyu. 270. Occasionally nuns are Navakammikas; S. Vibh. II, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly rendered into would-be Skt. with Vaiyāvṛtyakara, Vyu. § 270; Divy. 52. It should be Vaiyāpṛtyakara.

<sup>3</sup> S. Vibh. I, 221. Cp. SBE. XIII, p. 23 for another interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> Vyu. § 281; Sādhavihāriṇs in Divy. 18; 290.

<sup>5</sup> Voy. I, 143; II, 75. The title of Karmadāna for the undirector is probably a mistake. The word itself occurs Vyu. § 281, but not as a title. For the titles of Vihārasenāni and Mahāvihārasenāni see FAHST, Corp. Inscr. III, 270; 272.

<sup>6</sup> MV. VI, 31; CV. VIII, 3. Cp. above p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> The Buddha himself is represented as eating the pork expressly prepared for him by Canda, and thus proved *ipse facto* that he was no Buddhist.

<sup>8</sup> Gautama XVIII, 27—38; Āpastamba I, 5, 17, 29 ff. Manu V, 27.

<sup>9</sup> Āpastamba II, 9, 22, 2; Manu VI, 14; a single exception in Gautama III, 31.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. Manu V, 22.

<sup>11</sup> BEGANDER II, 294; HARDY E. M. 92.

words<sup>1</sup>. The son of Śākya must be calm and dignified in his deportment<sup>2</sup>, after the model traced in a beautiful passage in the history of the Bodhisattva<sup>3</sup>. The traits of the Bhiksus of ancient India continue partially visible in the Siamese monks of the present day<sup>4</sup>.

The use of ghee, butter, oil, honey and sugar is permitted to the members of the Order in time of sickness, by way of medicament<sup>5</sup>. Rules for preparing various kinds of medicaments, as well as medical and surgical operations, are prescribed in the Vinaya<sup>6</sup>, so that we get some notion of the condition of medical science in the period when that part of the canon was composed.

#### 4. THE PRĀTMOKṢA. DISCIPLINARY MEASURES.

The Prātmokṣa is divided into eight Titles or heads, each of them containing a greater or smaller number of articles.

The first Title treats of the Pārījīkū dhammā<sup>7</sup>, case involving expulsion from the Congregation. It contains in all redactions four articles on the most heinous of offences, to wit: breach of the vote of chastity; theft; taking life; falsely laying claim to superhuman (*uttarimanussa*) gifts<sup>8</sup>.

The second Title has thirteen articles bearing on offences involving suspension and a temporary exclusion. The term is in Pāli Saṅghādisesa, in Skt. Saṅghāvaśesa<sup>9</sup>. The agreement between the various redactions is pretty close<sup>10</sup>.

The third Title treats in two articles of Undetermined cases, Aniyatā dhammā<sup>11</sup>.

The fourth Title, headed Nissaggiya Pācittiya dhammā, on offences requiring expiation by forfeiture, numbers thirty articles, somewhat differently arranged in the various redactions, but otherwise nearly identical<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mil. P. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Deportment is termed by P. *īrīyā*; the four ways of deportment, *īrīyāpatthā*, *īrīyāpatthā* are: walking, standing, sitting, lying down; Buxtorf Lat. 296; Intr. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Lal. V. 230; Mhv. II, 132.

<sup>4</sup> Hagen E. N. 309; 312.

<sup>5</sup> MV. VI, 1. Medical requisites are termed *piṇḍapaccaya*, Skt. *piṇḍapaccaya* *piṇḍapaccaya*, Vy. § 239. The four requisites (*paccaya*), are *dhana*, *piṇḍapaccaya*, *amāsa* and *āśaṅga*; consequently virtually the same as the four Nivāyas, with the only difference that the Nivāyas are intended for hermits, the Paccayas for monks in general. Sometimes *paripūrṇa* is used as a third synonymous term, e. g. Divy. 143. — For the five sorts of oil see S. Vibh. II, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> MV. VI, 1—15; 17—21.

<sup>7</sup> Skt. Pārījīkā dhammā, Vy. § 236. The true etymology of *pārījīkā*, adopted by CHANDLER, is due to the sagacity of BERNIER. The word is a regular Taddhita derivative of a lost substantive *parījā* or something like it, connected with a verb *parī + jātā*, to drive away, whence p. p. *parījāta*. The derivation from *parī-jyātā*, proposed in SBE. XIII, 3, and intended as an improvement upon BERNIER's, is grammatically impossible.

<sup>8</sup> The offences in Vy. § 257 are: Abrahmacarya, Adattādāna, Vadha, Uttarāmanussa-dhammapalapa.

<sup>9</sup> Vy. I. c. 71. WASSNER E. 82. The Chinese transcription *Sau-ka-hi-shi-ha* (BEAL Cat. 216) points to a third form nearly allied to Saṅghādisesa. Neither a Skt. Saṅghāvaśesa nor Saṅghādisesa, i. e. remnant of the Saṅgha, renders a satisfactory meaning. Equally unsatisfactory are the locubrations of CHANDLER a. v.

<sup>10</sup> The offences specified Vy. § 258; S. Vibh. I, 110—125. Cp. BEAL I. c.

<sup>11</sup> Vy. § 259: *Deva aniyata*.

<sup>12</sup> For Pācittiya, which answers to Skt. Prāyaścittika, the N. Buddhists have *piṇḍāṭṭha*, an imaginary word, further corrupted by scribes or editors to *piṇḍāṭṭha*, *piṇḍāṭṭha*. For Nissaggiya the same blunderers give *Nāisargika*; it ought to be *Nāisargika*, *Nāisargika*. For the names of the offences severally see Vy. § 260; cp. S. Vibh. I, 195—266; BEAL op. c. 215; HORN op. c.



The fifth Title, on matters requiring expiation, *Pācisiyā dhammā*, comprises ninety-two articles in the P. redaction, whereas the Chinese version and the *Vyutpatti* number ninety. The contents are highly interesting, as affording a glimpse of some ancient customs among the members of the Order. Here we can only refer the reader to the text itself and the translations<sup>1</sup>.

In the sixth Title are treated the *Pāpidesaniyā dhammā*, four kinds of offences which require a simple confession to be expiated<sup>2</sup>.

The seventh Title is a miscellaneous collection of rules of good breeding and deportment, called *Sekhiyā dhammā*, or *Sikṣā*. The number of the rules is 75 in P., 100 in the Chinese version, 106 in *Vyutpatti*<sup>3</sup>. The greater number in the Chin. version is caused by the addition of 25 articles, from 60—85, relating to decorous deportment in regard to sacred buildings.

The eighth and last Title contains seven rules for settling legal questions or cases, *Adhikaraṇasamathā dhammā*. The rules are only indicated by technical terms for kinds of sentences pronounced. The terms are: 1. *Sam-mukhāvīnaya*, application of the disciplinary rule (to the person) in presence; *Sativīnaya*, application of the discipline in case of full consciousness (of the accused); *Amūḍhavinaya*, the same in the case of one not being insane; *Paṭināya*, sentencing one who confesses (being guilty); *Vebbhayasakā*, sentencing by majority of votes; *Tassapāpiyyasakā*, proceeding against the obstinate; *Tiṇavathāraka*, covering over as by grass<sup>4</sup>.

The *Prātimokṣa* for nuns is *mutatis mutandis* a copy from that for the male members of the Saṅgha. The number of Titles is equal, but the arrangement of the articles differs considerably without any obvious reason. Many regulations, just as in the *Prātimokṣa* for monks, have their origin in the incessant delicts of Six nuns, who are lewd, and commit other delicts, apparently without lasting damage to their spiritual character and monastic saintliness.

In order to enforce the prescriptions of a Code, no community can do without a system of coercion for well defined cases. The means of coercion at the disposal of the Saṅgha are not harsh, but quite sufficient. The severest punishment is expulsion from the community. This measure is enacted against those who are guilty of a *Parajika* sin. In one case we read that an aspirant for the Order, a *Samanuddesaka*, is expelled, *nāśita*<sup>5</sup>.

A slightly less severe proceeding is the formal banishment, *Pabbajaniya-kamma*, enacted against monks who have committed such a *Saṅghādisesa*

<sup>1</sup> The offences are specified *Vyu.* § 261.

<sup>2</sup> In *Vyu.* § 262 the four *Pratideśanīyā* are: *Ukkasapāpājakagrahana*, *Paṭikānīya-mayādaṇḍarīritabhukki*, *Kulaṭṭhābhāṅgaprāpti*, and *Vamaviciyagata*, terms which would be difficult to understand without the more elaborate text of the Code.

<sup>3</sup> *Vyu.* § 263. The 130 *Sikkhapadas* spoken of in *Aug. A. I.* pp. 230 ff. cannot be identified with the *Sekhiyā* rules, though it may be that the *Sikkhapadas* of little and minor importance mentioned *CV.* XI, 1 refer to them. The long-winded verbiage is obviously intended to leave the matter in obscurity.

<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding the anecdotes invented after date in *CV.* IV, 1—14 the real purport of most of the terms cannot be made out. The terms *Vyu.* § 261 are: *Sam-mukhavinaya*, *Smṛtavinaya*, *Amūḍhavinaya*, *Vatthayasakīya* (printed text: *Vattharahāṭṭīkya*), *Tassavbhayaṅga* (?), *Uppasāraṇa*, *Pratijātakāra*. The Chin. interpretation is wholly different or misinterpreted, *Budd.* op. c. 238. On comparing *CV.* I, 2 and 18 we perceive that in case of *Sam-mukhavinaya* the defendant is *codified*; in case of *Sativīnaya* *disciplined*; in case of *Amūḍhavinaya* *awakened* (= *amūḍhena*) *āpatim āpajetabba*; which does not agree with the anecdote<sup>5</sup>, but better with grammar; *Sativīnaya* e. g. is "discipline, chastising, correction by reminding one of his duty."

<sup>5</sup> S. *Vibh.* II, 139. Cp. *Vyu.* § 265 *āpāpāya*.

delict as specified in Prātimokṣa, Title II, Art. 13<sup>1</sup>. The banishment is not perpetual, but can be repeated, provided the delinquent show repentance<sup>2</sup>.

It is not easy to make out the difference between banishment and removal, Nissāraṇā, if there be a real difference<sup>3</sup>. The removal usually consists in a Parivāsa, a period of living apart, of probation for five or ten days. Should one during that period sin again, one must begin the term anew<sup>4</sup>. Another sort of penance attached to the commission of a Saṅghādisesa sin is the Mānatta, consisting in the offender being placed for six days under restraint. The offender himself should duly ask in the full chapter for such a penance after confessing his sin. If he conceals his sin he is subjected to a Parivāsa of one day or longer<sup>5</sup>.

Against a monk unwilling to acknowledge his fault an act of suspension or temporary excommunication, Ukkhepaniya-kamma, Ukkhepaniya, has to be carried out; the restoration after his having become repentant is termed Osāraṇā<sup>6</sup>.

Other measures of maintaining discipline are the act of warning, Tajjaniya, Tarjantiya; that of putting under tutelage, Nissaya<sup>7</sup>, and that of making amends (to the laity) Paṭisaṅgaṇiya<sup>8</sup>.

The rehabilitation, Abbhāna, of one who has undergone Parivāsa or Mānatta, is an important official act which requires an assembly of more than twenty members of the Saṅgha<sup>9</sup>.

A very exceptional punishment seems to be the Brahmadaṇḍa, which from other sources we know to have been the curse inflicted by a Brahman. Shortly before his Parinirvāṇa the Lord enjoined to Ānanda to impose the Brahmadaṇḍa on the monk Chanda. Ānanda had evidently never heard of such a punishment, for he asked: "But what sort of penalty is the Brahmadaṇḍa?" whereupon he received in answer: "Let Channa say whatever he likes, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him"<sup>10</sup>. This penalty, manifestly consisting in declaring a person socially dead, was afterwards inflicted, with the happy result that Channa felt remorse, mended his ways and ere-long attained Arhatship.

One of the means of discipline is confession. In theory all sins must be confessed at the recital of the Prātimokṣa, but as this ceremony takes

<sup>1</sup> S. Vibh. I, 179 ff. = CV. I, 13. Other cases in 14. The term in Vyu. I. c. is Paṇḍarāṇiya.

<sup>2</sup> CV. I, 16.

<sup>3</sup> MV. IV, 4. X, 6.

<sup>4</sup> A Parivāsa is also prescribed for followers of heterodox sects who desire admittance to the Saṅgha. The three other kinds of Par. incurred by committing a Saṅghādisesa sin are described MV. I, 38; 41. CV. II. III. The throwing back to the beginning of the disciplinary term is called Mūḍhya paṭikasaṇṭi, e. g. CV. I, 9; Mūḍhyapaṇḍa, Vyu. § 245.

<sup>5</sup> CV. III, 1. The would-be Skr. equivalent in Vyu. I. c. is Mānappa, pointing to a Pāli original answering to a Skr. mānāṇḍya. The word is obscure; in Pāli it is commented by *mānāṇḍya*.

<sup>6</sup> CV. I, 25; 27. MV. I, 79.

<sup>7</sup> CV. I, 9. 11.

<sup>8</sup> CV. I, 18—26. The term Vyu. I. c. is Pratisaṅgharāṇiya. The origin of the P. word is debatable. CHANTON is decidedly mistaken in deriving the word from *amar*. In SDE. XVII, 364 it has been connected with *sāraṇiya*, which is unquestionably = Skr. *sāraṇīyana*, but this is no decisive proof in case of Paṭisaṅgaṇiya: 1. because we should then expect Pratisaṅgharāṇiya in Buddh. Skr., and not Pratisaṅgharāṇiya; 2. because in Aṅg. N. II, p. 148 *apapaṭṭarāṇa* means "retrievable, restorable, repairable"; *apapaṭṭarāṇa* "irreparable"; Skr. *prasthāpanti* is "to put things right again."

<sup>9</sup> MV. IX, 4. CV. III, 2. 5. Different and erroneous is the term *Abbhāna*, Vyu. I. c.

<sup>10</sup> MPS. VI, 4; CV. XI, 12. 15.

place only twice a month, and an immediate confession is required, it is deemed sufficient that the sinner makes his confession to an elder brother. So at least is the practice now-a-days in Ceylon and Burma<sup>1</sup>.

### 3. OBJECTS OF WORSHIP. RELICS.

The highest objects of worship for the Buddhist are the Three Jewels, *Triratna* or *Ratnatraya*: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha<sup>2</sup>.

Besides the Three Ratnas, to which the highest honour is paid, there are other, more material objects of worship, viz. relics of holy persons and monuments erected to their memory by the piety of a grateful posterity. All such objects are *Dhātus*, distinguished into three classes: *Śāstika*, corporeal relics; *Uddesika*, memorials, and *Paribhogika* or *Paribhoga-dhātus*, objects having served the use of the Buddha, sacred spots, holy trees, and the like<sup>3</sup>.

One would expect that *Dhātus*, on account of their very nature, acquire their sacred character after the demise of the person to be commemorated, not before. The theory, in fact, seems to be in accordance with this view, it being doubtful whether the few exceptions date from olden times<sup>4</sup>. If we may trust a time-honoured tradition, the oldest corporeal relics are the hairs which the Buddha gave to the merchants *Trapusa* and *Bhalika* after their conversion<sup>5</sup>. That tradition, albeit perhaps apocryphal, is common to the N. and S. and therefore old. In course of time it went on assuming greater proportions, and in the 7th century it was believed that the pious merchants had received from the Lord not only some hairs and nails, but his bowl, stick and three garments.

The Sinhalese could claim to the possession of hair relics almost as old as those of the two merchants. It was the handful of hair bestowed by the Jina on *Sumana*, the chief of gods, who deposited the relic in a golden casket and enshrined it in a *Stūpa* of sapphire<sup>6</sup>. In N. India many cities, Kanauj, Oudh, Kauśāmbi, Mathurā, &c. could boast of possessing hairs and nails of the Tathāgata with *Stūpas* erected over the relics<sup>7</sup>. The relics in Kanauj were far-famed for their miraculous properties.

The chief corporeal relics are those which are properly called *Śāstas*, i. e. the remains of a corpse after cremation. We have seen how eight *Droṇas* of relics were divided among the faithful, and it behoves us only to add that one tooth was worshipped in heaven, one in *Gāndhāra*, one in *Kāliṅga*, and one more by the *Nāgas*<sup>8</sup>. The eye-tooth relic which came to the capital of *Kāliṅga*, *Kāliṅganagara*, now-a-days *Kāliṅgapatan*, but in Buddhist writings

<sup>1</sup> HARDY E. M. 145; BRANDER II, 284.

<sup>2</sup> See the hymn ed. by CHILDERS JRAS. IV, 318 (New. 2); FRANKFURTER Handb. 85; and cp. *Mhv.* I, 290 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of *Uddesika* with HARDY E. M. 216 "things which have been erected" does not agree with JAL IV, 328 — *Paṭiṭṭh.* p. 59, where we read that an *Uddesika* *Dhātu* is "immortal, merely existing mentally", *amūḍhaṃ manomāyakaṃ*; yet it is a *cetana*.

<sup>4</sup> JAL and *Paṭiṭṭh.* I. c. An exception is made with the Bodhi tree, which is said to be considered a *Cetana* both during the life time of the Buddhas (*id.*) and after their demise.

<sup>5</sup> JAL. Int. 81, but the older text *MV.* I, 4, is silent as to these relics, as well as JAL. V, 300 ff. It is only in the commentary that the bestowal of the hair relic is made mention of; see MASANEF Recherches I, 166.

<sup>6</sup> *Mhv.* p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Voy.* II, 250; 256; 265; 268; 277; 287; 405.

<sup>8</sup> *MSS.* VI, vs. 63 ff. Cp. above p. 46.

usually named Dantapura, has had an eventful history, commemorated in the *Daladdāvaṃsa*<sup>1</sup>. In the 4th century of our era the holy object was brought to Ceylon, and deposited in the city of Anurādhapura, where a century afterwards it was seen by Fa Hian<sup>2</sup>.

The history of the eye-tooth in Gāndhāra is extremely confuse. Fa Hian mentions a tooth relic enshrined in a Stūpa at Nagara. Two centuries after it had disappeared, as we are informed by Huen Tsiang<sup>3</sup>. This pilgrim, when visiting Kanauj, saw in that city a tooth relic no less remarkable for its extraordinary qualities than for its almost miraculous history<sup>4</sup>. Many other places were in the happy possession of Buddha-teeth, as Bamian, Navavihāra near Balkh, Kapisa<sup>5</sup>.

Few countries were so rich in relics as the region of Nagara, South of the Kabul river. In the city of Hidda there was a Stūpa which contained the projecting skull bone of the Tathāgata, the so-called *Uṣṇiṣa*. Two other sanctuaries of the same places possessed other pieces of the *Uṣṇiṣa*, and the eye-balls of the Buddha<sup>6</sup>.

The S. Buddhists were no less favoured with relics than their brethren in the North. Besides the famous tooth relic Ceylon could show a collar bone of the Jina, which the Thera Sarabhū had taken away from the funeral pile and brought to the island<sup>7</sup>. In a Stūpa at Ruanwelli, the ancient Hemavallī, was deposited, among other treasures, a whole Droṇa of bone relics of Gautama Buddha. The right collar-bone had been brought to the island in the days of Aśoka, by the Śrāmaṇera Sumana, who had received it from Indra in heaven<sup>8</sup>.

Bone relics of the more ancient Tathāgatas are rare. We only find that all the bones of Kāśyapa Buddha were deposited under a Stūpa at Srāvastī<sup>9</sup>. Much more numerous are remnants of the Disciples and other Saints. Near Vaiśālī Fa Hian saw a Stūpa raised over one half of Ānanda's body, the other half having remained as a relic in Magadha<sup>10</sup>. The city of Mathurā possessed Stūpas erected in honour of Śāriputra, Maṇḍakāyāna, Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaniputra, Upālī, Ānanda and Rāhula, with their relics. The nails and beard of the patriarch Upagupta, as famous with the N. Buddhists as unknown to the South, were honoured in the same city. Moreover there was a Stūpa erected over the relics of Mañjuśrī and other Bodhisattvas<sup>11</sup>. A Stūpa in a wood of the Koṅkan contained the remains of Śrutavimāśi-koṭi<sup>12</sup>. The entire body of Kāśyapa the Great rests in a deep chasm of the hill named Kukkuṭapāda<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Composed about 350 A. D. and translated into Pāli  $\pm$  1200 A. D. under the title of *Daladdāvaṃsa*.

<sup>2</sup> Rec. p. 104. The shrine for the relic, the *Dalada Maligana*, is described in SMITH'S *Archit. Remains*.

<sup>3</sup> Rec. p. 38; Voy. II, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Voy. I, 248.

<sup>5</sup> Voy. I, 65; 70; 374; II, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Rec. Chap. XIII; Voy. I, 77; II, 102.

<sup>7</sup> Mahāv. p. 4. The older chronicle does not mention this relic.

<sup>8</sup> *Uṭṭar. XV, 15; XVII, 10; Mahāv. pp. 110; 115.*

<sup>9</sup> Voy. I, 126; Rec. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Rec. 72; 76. Cp. *Tār. p. 9.*

<sup>11</sup> Voy. II, 208; I, 104. Since Bodhisattvas from their very nature must be supposed to be still alive, we ought properly not to speak of "relics".

<sup>12</sup> Voy. III, 148. The name is wrong and should be *Śrṇṇakolvinpāda*; Voy. § 47; Tib. L. 283; Pāli: *Saṇḍakolvinā*, whose history is told *MV. V, I*, in the main agreeing with Voy. III, 67.

<sup>13</sup> Rec. 93, where some inaccuracies committed by LEGGE need not be pointed out. Cp. Voy. III, 7.

If we keep to the threefold division of relics, we must comprise under the head of *Paribhoga-dhātus* all objects having served the use of Buddhas and Saints, be it a garment, a bowl, a stick, or a tree, a shrine, &c. Such objects are no less worshipped than the bone relics, and like the latter, possessed with miraculous power. It is difficult to determine in what period those holy remains commenced to be religiously venerated, but there is no doubt that long before the beginning of the Middle Ages that worship was already fully developed both in the North and in the South.

When Fa Hian was on his pilgrimage, he saw near Nagara Buddha's staff, made of sandalwood and 16 or 17 cubits long, from which circumstance we may deduce that the size of Gautama Buddha was more than gigantic<sup>1</sup>. Not far from that place there was a shrine in which the pilgrim saw Buddha's Saṅghāṭi; his countryman Huen Tsang found there both the Saṅghāṭi and the Kāśyā<sup>2</sup>.

The alms-bowl of the Tathāgata was at the time of Fa Hian kept in Peshawer. This miraculous relic, to which the common people were in the habit of making their offerings, was seen and has been described by the pilgrim. Two centuries later it was in the possession of the king of Persia<sup>3</sup>. Tradition says that the bowl originally was kept in Vaiśālī, and according to a prophecy heard by Fa Hian in Ceylon, the relic would in the following centuries travel to Tokharistān, Khotan, Karmchar, China, Ceylon, India, and finally to the heaven of the Tuṣita-gods<sup>4</sup>.

The Sinhalese chronicle *Dīpavamsa* mentions several *Paribhoga* relics, as the drinking vessel of the Buddha Kakusandha, the girdle of Koṣagambhira, the bathing cloth of Kassapa, and that of Gautama; the latter's girdle was preserved in the *Kāyabandhana-Cetiya*<sup>5</sup>.

In S. India, at Koṅkaṇapura, there was in the 7th century a *Vilāsa* which possessed the head-dress worn by Siddhārtha when a boy. It was on Sabbath-days exhibited to the believers who honoured it with offerings of flowers<sup>6</sup>. The Chinese pilgrim to whom we owe this information, saw in Banian the iron pot and the mantle of the patriarch Śāṅavāsika. The mantle was made from hemp, *sāra*, and had a reddish colour. During 1500 births the garment had been born with Śāṅavāsika, and it would remain in existence until the Law of the Buddha would be extinguished. And, in fact, at the time of the pilgrim's visit the habit showed traces of wear and tear<sup>7</sup>.

Relics of a non-descript kind, albeit not the less remarkable, because so eminently characteristic, are the shadow relics. In many places believers were shown some cavern where the Buddha or Bodhisattva had left his shadow; e. g. near Kauśāmbī, Gayā, Nagara. Huen Tsang did not succeed in his endeavours to see the shadow relic near Kauśāmbī, though the cavern itself still existed<sup>8</sup>. He was more fortunate at Gayā, where he saw the relic formerly already admired and described by his country-man Fa Hian as "the

<sup>1</sup> Rec. p. 39. This agrees pretty much with the S. tradition; see above p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Rec. I. c.; Voy. II, 103.

<sup>3</sup> Rec. 35; Voy. I, 106.

<sup>4</sup> Rec. 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīpav.* XV, 51; XVII, 9; *Mahāv.* p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Voy. III, 147.

<sup>7</sup> Voy. I, 49. The relic is a product of etymology, *śāṅavāsika* meaning "having a hemp garment." By the aid of the P. form *Śāṅavāsasambhūta* we understand why the habit was born *with* the Saint, for the compound can be interpreted as "sprung into existence conjointly with a garment of hemp." Another form in P. is *Śāṅavāsi Sambhūta*; *Dīpav.* IV, 30; V, 22. Cp. Tib. L. 308.

<sup>8</sup> Voy. II, 286.

shadow of Buddha, rather more than three feet in length, which is still bright at the present day.<sup>1</sup> Still more renowned was the shadow relic near Nagara. In a cavern inhabited by the Nāga Gopāla the Buddha had left his shadow immediately on his reaching extinction.<sup>2</sup> At the entrance of the cavern there were visible two square stones with the Tathāgata's footprints marked by the Wheel.

We shall revert to such footprints and other holy remains after a brief survey of the sacred buildings and images, which require a separate treatment.

## 6. SANCTUARIES OF DIFFERENT KINDS. STŪPAS. TEMPLES. IMAGES.

The monuments of Buddhist sacred architectural and sculptural art have been the object of unwearied research, and deservedly so, because they constitute a most interesting part of Indian archaeology. In a compendious book like this we can only touch upon that interesting subject in so far as it is more directly connected with worship, for the rest referring the reader to a selection of standard works and important papers, happily not rare, bearing on the matter.<sup>3</sup>

The most general name for a sanctuary is *Caitya*, P. *Cetiya*, a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, religious inscriptions. Hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are *Caityas*, but not all *Caityas* are edifices.

Among the buildings of a sacred nature the most prominent are the *Vihāra* and the *Stūpa*. *Vihāra*, as we have had occasion to remark, designates both a monastery or abode of the living Buddha and a sanctuary with images, though the latter acceptance is hardly admissible for the older times. The distinction between a *Caitya* and a *Vihāra*, such as it is made by the Nepalese, would, at first sight, seem somewhat arbitrary. They call a sanctuary of *Ādibuddha* or of the *Dhyāni-Buddhas*, which has the form of a heap of rice, a *Caitya*, but the temples of *Sākya* and the other of the 7 *Mānusi-Buddhas*, as well as those of other Saints, *Vihāras*<sup>4</sup>. From the detailed description of the Nepalese *Caityas* it is perfectly clear that those domes or mounds of brickwork are real *Stūpas*<sup>5</sup>.

The *Stūpa*, P. *Thūpa* is often in a loose way identified with the *Dagob*, P. *Dhāmagabbha*, Skr. *Dhātugarbha*, or shorter: *Garbha*. Strictly speaking the

<sup>1</sup> Rec. SS. According to Voy. II, 458 it was the Bodhisattva who left his shadow.

<sup>2</sup> Rec. 39; Voy. I, 81; II, 99.

<sup>3</sup> Such works and papers are: CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*; *Stupa of Bharhut*; *Mahabodhi Archaeological Survey*; — FERGUSON, *History of Indian Architecture*; *Description of the Amaravati Topes* (JRAS. 1868); *Age of the Indian Caves and Temples* (Ind. Ant. 1872); *Tree and Serpent Worship*. — BURGESS, *Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*; *Arch. Surv. of S. India*, Nr. 3; of W. India Nr. 9. — FERGUSON and BURGESS, *Cave temples of India*; — RAJENDRA-LALA MITRA, *Buddhagaya*. — LEYER, *Græco-Buddhist Sculptures* (Ind. Ant. 1873). — V. SMITH, *Græco-Roman influence on the Civilization of Ancient India*. — SMITH, *Architectural Remains, Amarāpura*. — REA, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*. — A comprehensive account of Buddhist Archaeology is found in Prof. GRÖNWALD's "*Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (1893)"; cp. FOUCHER, *L'Art bouddhique dans l'Inde d'après un livre récent* (Rev. Hist. Rel. 1895).

<sup>4</sup> HOPKINSON, Es. 49; 52. The idea underlying the distinction is, in our view, that *Vihāra* is the abode of Buddhas when living or supposed to be alive or present; *Caitya*, or *Stūpa*, the abode of a Buddha merely living in the memory of men; it is a memorial.

<sup>5</sup> HOPKINSON, l. c.; 30; WRIGHT, *Hist. of N.* 16; Pl. IV; IX; X.



Dagob is only a part of the Stūpa, being the shrine in which the holy relic is deposited, the *arca* of the sanctuary. Now as most Stūpas are erected over relics, they may be called Dagobs. Still not all Stūpas contain relics<sup>1</sup>.

It is more than probable, and, indeed, almost universally admitted that Stūpas originally are grave-mounds of illustrious persons. What we read of the commands of the Tathāgata to Ānanda, and of the solemnities after the cremation, in connection with what we know from non-Buddhist sources<sup>2</sup>, leaves no doubt regarding the primitive character of this kind of sanctuary. Even the outward shape of the Stūpa shows its affinity to the grave-mound; the dome answers to the *tumulus*, the railing to the fencing or circle of stones, the top or *patas* to the stake or column on the grave<sup>3</sup>.

The Stūpas, such as we see them represented in the sculptures of Sānci and Bharhut<sup>4</sup> show a square or circular base, either with or without a railing (*nācaka, sācā*). On the base is placed a dome surmounted by a graduated inverted pyramid which is connected with the dome by a short neck, *gata*, to use the Nepalese term. The whole is surmounted by an umbrella, or by two umbrellas one above the other. The umbrellas are hung with garlands and flags.

The Dagob in the cave temple of Kūṛli is of the same type. It is a dome slightly silted on a circular drum, and surmounted by a head-piece similar to an inverted pyramid, on which are still visible the remains of a wooden umbrella.

The Stūpas in Ceylon, as well as the oldest Caityas in Nepal are of the same description. A few Sinhalese Dagobs have a dome shaped like a bell<sup>5</sup>, but the most approved form is that of a water-bubble surmounted by three umbrellas, one of the gods, the second of men, the third of final Deliverance or Nothingness<sup>6</sup>.

It is known that the Buddhists themselves attach a symbolical meaning to the Stūpa or parts of it. The two, three, five, seven, nine, and thirteen umbrellas, and the gradations of the inverted pyramid suggest divisions of the universe<sup>7</sup>. Both the N. Buddhists and their brethren in the S. see in certain Stūpas symbolical representations of Mount Meru. Considering that the Prāsādas or towers show a multiplicity of stair-like divisions, e. g. the Mahā Prāsāda at Pollanaruwa in Ceylon, we venture to surmise that the more composite type of Stūpas, as at Mengrūn in Burma<sup>8</sup> and at Boro-Budur in Java with their graduated terraces owe their development to a blending of the characteristics of the Dagob and the Prāsāda.

In the days when the Chinese pilgrims visited India, the country abounded with Dagobs and other Stūpas of which now the ruins alone are left, if they have not entirely disappeared. It is noteworthy that Huen Tsiang more

<sup>1</sup> Many Stūpas were erected merely as monuments on the spot where some memorable event had occurred. Near Benares stood a Stūpa on the spot where the Buddha preached his first sermon; not far from it another Stūpa commemorative of 500 Pratyekas who there entered Nirvāṇa; Voy. II: 352.

<sup>2</sup> MBhārata I, 150, 13; COMARROCKE Ess. p. 106, Ep. Ind. II, 313.

<sup>3</sup> Rgveda N, 13: Sthūpa.

<sup>4</sup> CONNINGHAM, *Bhiles* Types Pl. III; XIII; Bharhut Pl. XIII; XXXI.

<sup>5</sup> See LERMAN'S *Boro-Budur* p. 391, and the references there.

<sup>6</sup> Mahāv. pp. 175; 190; 191.

<sup>7</sup> The great cosmical Stūpa produced by the miraculous power of Śākyamuni in Lot. Chap. XI is marked by a series of umbrellas rising upwards to the heaven of the gods of the four quarters.

<sup>8</sup> SCLAUN, *On the Senbyun Pagoda at Mengrūn*, in JRAS. IV, 408 ff. (New s.) Cp. the Universe and the Meru represented in WARRELL *Buddh. of Tib.* 79.

than once records the ruined state of monasteries and shrines which two centuries before showed no traces of decay<sup>1</sup>. The great Stüpa of Peshawer, which on account of its height, more than 400 cubits, must have been a Stüpa of the more composite type, had already thrice been damaged by fire before the pilgrim visited the country<sup>2</sup>.

The foundation of the great Stüpa at Peshawer dates from the reign of Kaniska. The Tope of Mänikälä<sup>3</sup> may belong to the same period. Older, if tradition may be trusted, were two Stüpas erected on a hallowed spot near Puskalāvati, ascribed to Aśoka. Decidedly apocryphal is the story that two other Stüpas of precious stones had been founded by the gods Brahmā and Indra. Huen Tsiang saw only the ruins of those wonderful buildings<sup>4</sup>. As little credit deserves the fiction, common to both divisions of the Church, that Aśoka built 84,000 Stüpas or Vihāras all over India<sup>5</sup>. The pilgrims add that the king did so after he had opened seven of the eight Stüpas which had been reared after the Lord's Parinirvāna. The only Stüpa not opened by him was that of Rāmagrāma, where a pious posterity had erected several Stüpas and monasteries when the pilgrims visited the place<sup>6</sup>.

The memorial edifices and the Vihāra at Sārnāth near Benares, still entire in the 7th century, are now in ruins<sup>7</sup>. It is not a little curious that the temple at that place, annexed to the ruined tower, is at present in the possession of the Jains.

Stüpas were dedicated not only to persons, but sometimes to the sacred books. In Mathurā there were such buildings reared in honour of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Ānanda; others dedicated to the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sūtras<sup>8</sup>.

At Kapilavastu stood a few Stüpas on memorable spots, as well as some monasteries, but the region is described by Fa Hian as "a great scene of empty desolation." The place shown to Huen Tsiang as the site of Kapilavastu was as dreary as two centuries before<sup>9</sup>.

In Magadha Stüpas were not wanting in the Middle Ages, though that original home of Buddhism was comparatively richer in monasteries, and especially in legends<sup>10</sup>.

The most renowned and oldest Thūpa in Ceylon is the Mahāthūpa, dating from the time of Dugha-Gāmanī. It was built over Buddha's foot-print at the N. of Anurādhapura, and had, according to Fa Hian, a height of 300 cubits. By the side of this tope, the foundation whereof is represented in the chronicles as a most important event<sup>11</sup>, stood the splendid monastery

<sup>1</sup> E. g. in Gāndhāra; Voy. I, 84; II, 105. Cp. Rec. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. III, 112.

<sup>3</sup> WILSON *Ariana Antiqua* 55; cp. *Arch. Surv.* XIV, 1 ff. The ruins have been identified with the Stüpa of Sindhapura mentioned in Voy. I, 164.

<sup>4</sup> Voy. II, 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Dipav.* VI, 96; *Mahāv.* p. 185; Rec. 69; 75; Voy. II, 325 ff. 417; 420; *Tar.* 36. Cp. *Diry.* 379; 402; the King's motive for opening the mounds was to disburse the relics; there is no question of "destroying", as the Chinese seem to have understood.

<sup>6</sup> Rec. 70; Voy. II, 334.

<sup>7</sup> Rec. 98; Voy. II, 355 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Rec. 44 ff. Slightly different is the account in Voy. II, 209, affirming that the relics of Śāriputra, Upālī and Pāma-Maitrayanputra were preserved in Stüpas, these three Disciples being honoured by the students of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya and the Sūtras, severally.

<sup>9</sup> Rec. 64 ff. Voy. II, 309.

<sup>10</sup> Rec. 80 ff. Voy. II, 447 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Rec. 102; *Dipav.* XIX, 2-10; *Mahāv.* p. 172; *Saddh.* S. p. 47. Cp. KNIGHTON in *JASB.* XVI, 222.

of Abhayagiri, so famous in the ecclesiastical history of the island. Other Thūpas in Ceylon which have retained something of their ancient grandeur are the Thūpārāma and the Thūpa at the Jetavana monastery<sup>1</sup>. To the east of Abhayagiri, on the Cetiya hill, identified with Mihināle, was constructed the Silāthūpa<sup>2</sup>. It is a matter of course that Ceylon abounded with Vihāras and Prāsādas, some of which appear to have been remarkable, but judging from the remains, Sinhalese architecture never reached the development the art shows in India and in other countries where Buddhism was introduced by the Mahāyānists, as in Camboja and Java.

Passing to Buddhist iconography, we commence with repeating the often made remark that images of the Buddha are wholly absent from the older sculptures at Sanchi and Bharhut. Even in cases where the presence of the Lord must be presupposed, it is indicated by symbols, footprints, a wheel, a seat or altar above which an umbrella with garlands. A scene on the sculptures of Bharhut represents Ajātasatru kneeling before the footprints of the Lord whereas the inscription distinctly says: "Ajātasatru pays his homage to the Lord"<sup>3</sup>. There are many other instances which go far to prove that images of the Buddha and their being worshipped date from a period posterior to Aśoka<sup>4</sup>.

There is no lack of legends anent the origin of Buddha images, but it would be difficult to discover in those tales, which are wholly discordant, something like an historical nucleus<sup>5</sup>. Nothing definite results from those legends, except the fact that images of the Tathāgata were venerated by the faithful at the time of the tales being invented. If the dates found on the numerous inscriptions added to representations of Buddha and Mahāvira at Mathurā<sup>6</sup> refer to the Śaka era, which is probable, the custom of honouring the founder of the creed by images must have been common in the first century of our era. As to the model which has served for the Buddha type, it is not safe to speak with overmuch confidence. One of the oldest Buddha images bears the inscription: *Bhagavato Pīṭmahāya*. Now Pīṭmahā is a well-known epithet of Brahmā, whose lotus-seat, Padmāsana, has become a common feature of the sitting Tathāgata<sup>7</sup>. Yet it is by no means necessary to assume that only one type has been taken for a model; the less so because the influence of the Greeks on Buddhist art is unmistakable. That influence, which has preeminently left its mark on the sculptures of the kingdom of Gāndhāra, is supposed to have lasted from the beginning of our era or thereabouts downward to the 4th century.

The Buddha type on the Gāndhāra sculptures is more Greek than Indian, and has therefore not been able to gain the upper-hand. The Indian type, the common one both in the N. and in the S., though in its best

<sup>1</sup> HARDY E. M. 220; KNIGHTON, *op. c.* Pl. II and III. A full description of the remains of those Thūpas with accompanying Plates is found in SMITH, *op. c.*

<sup>2</sup> *Epigr.* XIX, 32 *op. Rec.* 107.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. XVI; *op. Cunningham's text* p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> FERGUSON in *JRAS.* VIII, 42 (New s.). Cp. WADDELL *op. c.* 13.

<sup>5</sup> In the tale of Divy. 345 B. the name Kadrāyana is a corruption of Udayana. At Śrīvast Fa Hian was told that it was Prasenajit of Kosala who had caused the image to be carved in sandal wood; *Rec.* 37. In *Voy.* II, 284 the same story is told of Udayana, but in another passage, p. 296, a similar image is ordered by Prasenajit. The Sinhalese say that an image of Gautama was caused to be made by the King of Kosala, consequently Prasenajit; HARDY E. M. 199.

<sup>6</sup> CUNNINGHAM *Arch. Surv.* III, 30-37.

<sup>7</sup> CUNNINGHAM *op. c.* III, Pl. XVIII; and *op.* the description of Buddha-statues in *Debat-Saṅgha* LVIII, 44; Hemadri, Cintāmaṇi II, t, 119; 1037.

specimens far from inartistic, betrays the care of the artists to indicate the canonical Lakṣaṇas of a Mahāpuruṣa<sup>1</sup>.

All the evidence collected tends to leave the impression that the beginnings of the worship of Buddha images fall somewhere in the first century B. C. or later, and it is quite certain that A. D. 400 the fables about the first representations of the Lord were accepted as time-hallowed truths. The pious Chinese travellers repeatedly describe or mention statues and other images. Fa Hian saw in Śāṅkṣīya a standing Buddha, 10 cubits in height, and so did Huen T'sang<sup>2</sup>. The latter had occasion to admire at Peshawer, not far from the great Stūpa of Kaniska, a statue of the Tathāgata in white stone, 18 feet high. The statue was miraculous; at night-time it was in the habit of leaving its place and of walking around the Stūpa. The numerous images in the smaller shrines were richly adorned and of highly finished workmanship; they had the marvellous quality of emitting musical sounds and exquisite scents<sup>3</sup>. In the Deer-park near Benares the Vihāra was adorned with a brass statue of the Tathāgata turning the Wheel of the Law<sup>4</sup>.

Images of the Buddha in a recumbent posture, representing his entering final Extinction, are more than once made mention of. At Bamian there was a colossal image of that description, measuring about 1000 feet<sup>5</sup>. Another representation of the Nirvāṇa was seen by Huen T'sang on the hallowed spot between the Sāl trees near Kusanagara<sup>6</sup>.

Painted images of the Tathāgata, certainly far from rare in the Middle Ages, are but occasionally mentioned. A highly artificial and wonder-working specimen at Peshawer was exhibited to Huen T'sang, who gives a circumstantial description of the picture and the legend connected with it<sup>7</sup>. Not far from the great Stūpa where this picture excited the admiration of the pilgrim, he saw two images, one 4, the other 6 feet in height, representing the Buddha sitting cross-legged under the Bodhi tree.

The Tathāgatas who preceded Śākyamuni were not totally forgotten by the pious believers. In several places the statue of Śākya was accompanied by the images of his three or six last predecessors<sup>8</sup>. In still greater veneration than those past Buddhas was held both in the N. and in the S. the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the future Saviour. Perhaps the most remarkable of his images was the huge statue of gold-coloured wood, 90 cubits high, in a valley near the ancient capital of Udyāna. The Bodhisattva has not yet appeared on earth, and so the artificer who wished to make his portrait was taken up to the Tuṣṭita heaven through the Kṛddhī of the Arhat Ma-dhyāntika. After observing the height, complexion and appearance of Maitreya, the artificer returned to the earth and made the likeness of the Bodhisattva in wood. "The kings of the countries vie with one another in presenting offerings to it."

The veneration of the N. Buddhists for the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī was not inferior to the honour they paid to Maitreya. We

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on both types by Prof. Gutschmidt, op. c. 80; 120 ff.; 133.

<sup>2</sup> Rec. 30; Voy. II, 238. Cp. CONNELLAN op. c. XI, 22 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Voy. II, 111.

<sup>4</sup> Voy. II, 355.

<sup>5</sup> Voy. II, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Voy. II, 534. Fa Hian, who likewise visited the spot, makes no mention of the image; Rec. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Voy. I, 110.

<sup>8</sup> Voy. I, 84; 133; 205; FLEURY, Corp. Inscr. III, 262.

<sup>9</sup> Rec. 25; Voy. II, 149. Visits to the Tuṣṭitas to see Maitreya occurred even in later times; a signal instance is the visit paid by Guṇaprabhā, who lived in the 7th century.

know from the records of Fa Hian that in his time the Mahāyānists in Mathurā were in the habit of presenting offerings to the Prajñā-Pāramitā, to Mañjuśrī and to Avalokiteśvara<sup>1</sup>. Two centuries afterwards the number of statues of Avalokiteśvara was immense. In Kapīśa, in Udyāna, in Kashmīr, at Kanauj, at Gayā, at the Kapota monastery in Mahārāṣṭra, we meet with the miraculous statues of this most popular and helpful Bodhisattva<sup>2</sup>. The monstrosity of representing Avalokiteśvara with a plurality of faces, a circumstance connected with his surname of Samantamukha, is nowhere mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, and may be an outgrowth of a later period<sup>3</sup>.

Mañjuśrī was honoured, as we have seen, in Mathurā, where — *mirabile dictu* — his relics were preserved in a Dagob, but no mention is made of statues. Now-a-days he is often represented with four hands; the image of Mañjuśrī erected by Adityavarman in Java in Śaka 1165 is free from any deformity<sup>4</sup>.

Since the introduction of the Dhyāni-Buddhas into the Pantheon of the N. Buddhists, these personifications have received their due share of reverence; pictorial and other images of them, of their Tārās and their sons are extremely common, in Nepāl, Tibet and Mongolia. The faces and shapes of the Dhyāni-Buddhas show the usual Buddha type; their lotus-seats are marked by the variety of their Vāhanas: lions, elephants, horses, Hamsas, and Garuḍas being the supporters of Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi, severally. Further the five are marked by the different position of the hand, *mudrā*, and, when paint or colours are used, by differences in colour. The Tārās have the same colour as the Buddhas to whom they belong; likewise the Bodhisattvas, their sons. These are represented in a standing posture<sup>5</sup>.

## 7. BODHI TREES. THE THRONE OF ENLIGHTENMENT. SACRED FOOTPRINTS AND SPOTS. THE WHEEL.

The holy tree of Wisdom, which plays an important part in all mythologies, is a real *Caiṛya*. Systematically it is classed as a *Paribhoga Caiṛya*, but originally such trees are, of course, *Uddeśaka*<sup>6</sup>. The reverence paid by the Buddhists to the Bodhi trees goes doubtless back to ancient times; it is decidedly older than the custom of setting up images, and very likely the dogmatically transformed survival of a primitive heathen religion.

The sculptures of Bhārat show us the Bodhis of six out of the seven last Buddhas, to wit, those of Vipassī, Kassapa, Koṣagamaṇa, Kaksandha, Vessabhū, and Śākyamuni<sup>7</sup>. Śākyamuni's holy fig-tree with the seat of Enlightenment, the Bodhimayāla, at the foot, is more than once figured in the *bas-reliefs*. The most elaborate representation shows two umbrellas over the tree with streamers between the boughs. Two winged figures holding

<sup>1</sup> Rec. 46; 119.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. I, 88; 141; 172; II, 45; 141; 182; 249; III, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Eleven heads, 100 thousand hands &c. are the attributes of A. in *Karapādyāna*; BURNOUR Intr. 225. Cp. Arch. Surv. of W. India, Nr. 9, Pl. XXIV; WADDELL op. c. 13; 357; JRAS., 1894, 31ff. where twenty-two forms are described.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the picture in WADDELL op. c. 12.

<sup>5</sup> HODGKIN Ess. 40; WRIGHT, Hist. of Nepāl Pl. VI; cp. BURNOUR Intr. 116; WADDELL, op. c. 349; cp. 315; LEHMANN Boto-Bodour 448.

<sup>6</sup> *Uddeśa* or *uddēśa-vṛtta* and *uddēśa-nūṣaṇa*. Cp. MINAYEF Recherches I, 175.

<sup>7</sup> Pl. XXIX and XXX. The trees of these Buddhas are specified in Buddhav. 109; 127; 122; 118; 114; 131 (quoted Intr. Jāt.).

garlands occupy the two upper corners, and under them are seen two male figures, considerably taller than the former, and in a standing posture, but without reaching the ground. The attitude of both marks their astonishment. The trunk of the tree is encircled by columns, and at the foot we perceive a seat before which two persons of common stature are kneeling with the clasped hands stretched out. Behind one of them is standing a female figure, and behind the other a Nāga King with crossed arms<sup>1</sup>. The Bodhimandā resembles a square stone altar. One of the *bas-reliefs* shows four seats, those of the four last Buddhas<sup>2</sup>.

The original seat of Śākyamuni under the Pīpal at Gayā, where all past Buddhas have reached perfect Enlightenment, and all future Buddhas will reach, is called by Huen T'sang Vajrāsana, Diamond seat. It was in his time protected by brickwork; at present the sanctuary consists of steps round a Pīpal standing on a terrace raised 30 feet above the ground<sup>3</sup>. The Bodhimandā, or Narasimhāsana, is held to be the centre of the earth<sup>4</sup>. The southern branch of the original tree Bodhi was brought to Ceylon, it is said, by the Therī Saṅghamitā, daughter to Aśoka, and planted in the Mahāmeghavana. Eight shoots produced in a most miraculous manner were transferred to different places in the island, and from these again sprung thirty-two trees<sup>5</sup>. The history and prehistory of the Bodhi tree forms the subject of a work with literary pretensions, the Mahābodhivamsa<sup>6</sup>.

We discover in the sculptures of Bharhut fewer delineations of footprints than of Bodhis; still there are some instances. On the *bas-relief* representing Ajātaśatru's homage to the Lord are visible two footprints marked by a wheel, and symbolically indicating the presence of the Lord. It is generally known that out of the numerous footprints, which the Tathāgata has left on earth there is none so famous as the Śrīpāda on the Sūmāra or Adam Peak<sup>7</sup>. Tradition avers that when the Jina came to Ceylon he planted one foot at the South of Amarādhapura, and the other on the top of a mountain, the two being 15 Yojanas apart. Such was the account already current when Fa Hian visited the island<sup>8</sup>. This most celebrated Śrīpāda, regarded by the Śivaites as the footstep of Śiva, and by the Mohammedans as Adam's, whilst the Buddhists claim it as the impressions of the Lord's foot, is described as a superficial hollow more than 5 feet long and 2½ feet wide.

Still more gigantic was the footprint left by the four last Buddhas in the

<sup>1</sup> Pl. XXX; cp. CONNINGHAM's text p. 114. The two tall figures must be gods, for their feet do not touch the earth. It appears from the description of the Mahāthūpa (Mahāv. pp. 172 ff.) that the image of Buddha sitting on the Bodhimandā was flanked by Brahmā and Indra; hence we infer that the two figures represent those two gods. — On the manner of worshipping the Bodhi see MISSE's Recherches I, 175.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. XXXI; text p. 112. Cp. Voy. II, 106; FLEURY, Corp. Inscr. III, 262.

<sup>3</sup> Voy. II, 458; cp. I, 139. KĀJESANA I. A. MITRA, Buddha Gayā p. 92; the Vajrāsana Pl. XLIII. Cp. FALCONER in Trans. 9th Cong. of Or. I, 245-251.

<sup>4</sup> Lal. V, 475; *śāketadaddānāy paribrahmāśāketadaddānāy*, Bodhiv. p. 79 = Jit. IV, p. 232; it is the seat of "all Buddhas." — A N. addition to the confession of faith, as mentioned by MISSE's Recherches I, 177, runs thus: *āśān aśāketānā, āśān vāśān āśāketānā jōvān āśāketānānāpāśāketānā*; i. e. until attaining full Enlightenment, becoming a Buddha.

<sup>5</sup> Dīpaṇ. XVII, 20; Mahāv. XVIII; XIX; Bodhiv. 153 ff. S. Vāṇa I, pp. 335 ff. Cp. DUNSON JRAS. VIII 62 (Nov. 6).

<sup>6</sup> See STRONG in his Intr. VIII, ff. A part of this work is simply a repetition of the Kāṇḍabodhi-Jāṇaka, Nr. 479. We learn from both sources that during the lifetime of the Buddha a ripe fruit of the Bodhi tree was planted at Śrāvastī by Ananda; hence it was called "Ānandabodhi."

<sup>7</sup> This curiosity has often been described; see BRUNOY Let. 620 and the authors there quoted; cp. HARRY M. of Pl. 312. Tāt. 264 calls the sacred footprint Śrīpāda.

<sup>8</sup> Rec. 102; Mahāv. p. 7. A Śrīpāda is mentioned by BARTU, Inscr. Camb. I, 33.



Deer-park. Huen Tshang, who saw that footprint with his own eyes, records that the length of the footstep was 300 feet with a depth of 7 feet<sup>1</sup>. Very small in comparison were the prints of the Lord's feet which the same traveller saw in the neighbourhood of Pāṭaliputra. They measured 1 foot 3 inches in length, and 6 inches in width. But the fact becomes somehow intelligible when we read that these footprints were left by the Buddha in the moment that he was about to be extinguished<sup>2</sup>.

Sacred footsteps were seen in various other places, e. g. in Udyana on a large stone on the N. bank of the Swat. It possessed the striking peculiarity that it was long or short according to the ideas of the beholder<sup>3</sup>.

The Nepalese call drawings of the feet of Buddha and Mañjuśrī *padukā*. The feet of Buddha are marked with some tree-like figures, those of Mañjuśrī with a half-closed eye, evidently the moon<sup>4</sup>.

The origin and history of the Śrīpādas are as yet wrapt in darkness, but we have sufficient data to warrant the inference that their worship is connected with the strides, *vīkrama*, of Puruṣottama, Viṣṇu. The sacredness of the places where such marks are seen is, from a Buddhist standpoint, not justified, the truly hallowed spots being those where, according to the Scriptures, the Tathāgata abode when walking on earth. Such spots were preeminently the four places of pilgrimage as indicated by the Lord himself to Ānanda, and further the scenes of his blessed career in Magadha and adjacent countries. An interesting description of the hallowed spots near Gayā is given by Fa Hian, whose sober but perfectly reliable account is completed by the more pompous narrative of Huen Tshang<sup>5</sup>.

Almost as rich as Gayā in sacred spots and legends from ancient times was Benares. There people were able to indicate the place where the Bodhisattva who once would become Śākyamuni received the prediction of his future Buddhahood. There, too, was the spot where Maitreya received the same prediction from the Buddha of the present period<sup>6</sup>. It is not easy to understand how Maitreya, who has not yet descended on earth, can have received that prediction in the Deerpark. The difficulty increases when we learn from the same source that Śākyamuni was seated on the Grdhvakūṭa, when he announced to the monks that in an age to come<sup>7</sup> would appear the future Buddha Maitreya, having a body shining as gold and shedding a bright lustre. Has our Chinese authority confounded two traditions?<sup>8</sup> Or are we in the presence of a mystery, not to say of a mystification?

Apart from the four canonical places of pilgrimage, several other localities where the Teacher had sojourned were dear to the mind of the believer<sup>9</sup>. The authority of Scripture was not always required to seal the sacredness of some spot; in case of need tradition stepped in and gave its sanction. Thus the Sīphalese would show a spot where the Jina of yore had sat in the shadow of a Rājāyatana tree; the tree and the seat were worshipped as *Paribhoga Cetiyas*<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Voy. I, 133; II, 358.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. I, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Rec. 29; Voy. I, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Wintern op. c. Pl. VII.

<sup>5</sup> Rec. 87—90; Voy. II, 455 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Voy. II, 356 ff.

<sup>7</sup> When men will have a lifetime of eighty-thousand years.

<sup>8</sup> A similar contradiction in case of Maitreya occurs in Lot. I, 94 and p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> A list of papers on newly discovered or identified holy spots is given by BARTH, *Bull. Rel. de l'Inde* of 1883—1884, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Dipav. II, 50.

The Wheel of the Law, Dharmacakra, rather a symbol than a relic, is nevertheless an object of worship. One of the sculptures of Bharhut represents the Lord's Dharmacakra adorned with a strip of cloth, under an umbrella in a shrine. On each side is standing a male person with crossed arms. The lower part of the scene shows a king in a chariot with four horses. From the inscription we learn that it is Prasenajit, King of Kosala. On another plate the Wheel is placed upon a high column<sup>1</sup>. Similar specimens have been discovered at Sanchi, Gayā, Śrāvastī.

The Wheel symbol is only in so far Buddhistic as it is linked with the preaching of the Law. Originally, as the very term denotes, it appertains to the Cakravartin. Other symbols as the Svastika, Śrivatsa, Nandiyāvarta, Vajra, Vardhamāna, Trishūla &c. are in no respect peculiar to the Buddhists and may here be past in silence<sup>2</sup>.

### 8. HOLIDAYS. FESTIVALS. QUINQUENNIAL ASSEMBLY. ANNUAL CONGRESS.

We have seen that the keeping of Uposatha on the 8th and 14th (or 15th) of each half-month is an institution which Buddhism borrowed from other sects. The idea of imitating that custom is ascribed not to the head of the Saṅgha, but to the worldly sovereign; in other words: the keeping of the Uposatha is a concession made by the Tathāgata to public opinion; it is one of the numberless concessions by the brotherhood to the religious and moral feelings of the nation.

The weekly Uposatha is a day of celebration for the monks and the laity. Two of the four holidays in the month are by the former devoted to the ceremony of reciting the Prātimokṣa. An occasional holiday, only for monks, is the Sāmaggi-Uposatha, Reconciliation holiday, which is held when a quarrel among the fraternity has been made up<sup>3</sup>.

The four holidays or Sabbaths are kept in Ceylon, Burma and Nepāl on the days of the new-moon, of the full-moon and on the 8th of each Pakṣa; in Tibet on the 14th, 15th, 29th and 30th of the month<sup>4</sup>. This difference is perhaps caused by some ambiguity in the sacred texts. In the Pāli Vinaya the ambiguity, real or apparent, has been removed by an additional elucidation<sup>5</sup>, but the wording of the fifth Pillar edict of Aśoka<sup>6</sup> is far from clear, and admits of being interpreted as prescribing a holiday on the 14th and 15th of the Pakṣa. The holidays prescribed by Manu<sup>7</sup> agree with those kept in Ceylon, but Āpastamba lays down the rule that at the new-moon two holidays should be observed, whereas Gautama allows, without absolutely prescribing, two of such holidays<sup>8</sup>.

The Uposatha is a day of rest; it is not proper to trade or do any

<sup>1</sup> Pl. XIII; XXXI; XXXIV; text p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> The subject has been treated by BURNOUR *loc. cit.* 625 ff.; SUTER; JRAS. VI, 454 ff.; SENART *Essai*, 345 ff.; WADDELL *op. cit.* 387 ff.

<sup>3</sup> CHILDERS p. 335, b. Several times mention is made of an extra holiday termed *pāṭhānā*, *pāṭhānā* (v. l. *pāṭhānā*) *parikkā*, e. g. S. Nip. p. 70; Aug. N. I, p. 144; Therīg. 31, on the character whereof see MINAVER *Recherches* I, 166, and *op. cit.* CHILDERS p. 618.

<sup>4</sup> According to KÖPFER, *Rel. d. B. II*, 139; 307; *cp.* WADDELL *op. cit.* 501.

<sup>5</sup> MV. II, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Corp. Inscr. I, Delhi Edict V.

<sup>7</sup> IV, 113; *cp.* 128, and Vāṭsavalkya I, 146.

<sup>8</sup> *Apaś.* I, 3, 9, 28; *cp.* BÜHLER'S note SBE. II, 36. Gautama XVI, 36.

business; hunting and fishing are forbidden<sup>1</sup>; schools and courts of justice are shut. It is also from ancient times a fasting day<sup>2</sup>. The laity must celebrate the day with clean garments and with clean minds, and it is meritorious in them to keep the eight precepts<sup>3</sup>.

Preaching and hearing the sermon is a common feature of each Upasatha celebration. The reading, Bhāṣa, of some chapter of the P. Scriptures, Bhāṣavāra, was in former times exclusively done by monks, but now-a-days it occurs in Ceylon that laymen go from house to house to read tracts in the vernacular<sup>4</sup>. In Nepāl, where the Order has ceased to exist, all preachers, the so-called Vajrācāryas, are laics and married men.

The regular period for preaching is the rainy season. This custom or institution, dating from the very beginnings of Buddhism, is common to both divisions of the Church. In ancient India the ritual year was divided into three four-monthly periods. The three terms were celebrated with sacrifices on the full-moonday of Phālguna, of Āśāḍha, and of Kārtika; or otherwise one month later, in Caitra, in Śrāvaṇa, and in Mārgaśīṣa. These three sacrificial festivals inaugurated summer, rainy season, and winter. The Buddhists have retained this ritual division, and equally celebrate the terms, but, of course, not with sacrificial acts<sup>5</sup>. In the Sinhalese calendar summer begins at the full-moon of Phālguna, the rainy season at the full-moon of Āśāḍha, and winter at the full-moon of Kārtika<sup>6</sup>.

The entrance upon the Retreat during the rains<sup>7</sup> is fixed either on the day of the full-moon of Āśāḍha, or one month after. In Ceylon the Vassa is limited to three months. The solemn termination, Pravāraṇā, Pavāraṇā, is inaugurated by an act of the Saṅgha in an assembly of the chapter of at least five members<sup>8</sup>.

The Pravāraṇā is held on two successive days, the 14th and 15th of the bright half-month, on which Upasatha is kept. It is a festival and an occasion for giving presents to the monks, for inviting them to dinner, and for processions<sup>9</sup>.

Immediately after the Pravāraṇā there follows a distribution of robes which the believers offer to the fraternity. The raw cotton cloth, Kaṭhina, collected by the givers cannot be received except by a chapter of at least five persons. When the chapter has decided which of the brethren stand most in need of a garment, the assembled monks, assisted by the laity, make the cloth into a robe, and dye it yellow; the whole of which process must be concluded in twenty-four hours<sup>10</sup>.

In addition to the Varjopanāyikā and Pravāraṇā there are some other days which the Buddhists are in the habit of celebrating. Thus the Sinhalese keep a festival in the beginning of spring in commemoration, as they say,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Delli Pillar V.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa IX, 5, 1, 6.

<sup>3</sup> More detailed in HARDY E. M. 237 ff. and BOWEN, The Upasatha and Upasampada Ceremonies (JRAS. of 1893, 159).

<sup>4</sup> A full and lively description of a Bhāṣa reading is given by HARDY E. M. 232.

<sup>5</sup> Likewise in the Pillar-Edict V, where moreover the full-moon day of Pausa is mentioned as a great holiday. Cp. Apast. I, 3, 10, 2; Manu IV, 97; Ep. Ind. II, 261 E.

<sup>6</sup> JACKSON JRAS. VIII, 127 (New s.). Cp. Var. II, 63.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. above p. 80, f.

<sup>8</sup> The regulations are minutely described MV. IV.

<sup>9</sup> Fa Hien speaks of the solemnity as it was observed at Mathurā; Rec. 45, where the phrase "a month after the rest" yields no sound meaning. It should be "the month", for evidently the Cīrasamāsa, the month succeeding the period of Retreat, is intended.

<sup>10</sup> HARDY E. M. 121. Cp. above p. 80.

of Māra's destruction. This festival, called Awarada in Ceylon, is likewise known to the Siamese by the name of Sonkran, i. e. Skr. Saṅkrānti. Both the name and the legendary account of the origin of the solemnity are a sufficient proof that it is the Hindu vernal feast of Holāka or Kāmasalahana<sup>1</sup>.

The Vaiśākha-pūjā on the day of the full-moon in Vaiśākha, which is celebrated in Siam and formerly was so in Ceylon<sup>2</sup>, coincides with the date of Buddha's birth. The date of the Nirvāṇa was, in the days of Huen T'sang, celebrated at Gayā with a great festival<sup>3</sup>.

Fa Hian speaks of a grand festival in Ceylon "in the middle of the third month", when the tooth relic was exhibited<sup>4</sup>. Not unlikely the date intended is that of the full-moon day in Vaiśākha, for this was the official date of the Lord's Nirvāṇa as well as of his birth and his attaining Buddhahood.

In the paṇy days of Buddhism in India the quinquennial assembly, Pañcavārṣika or Pañcavarṣapariṣad, otherwise termed Mahāmokṣapariṣad, was a grand solemnity and festival. From the description of it in the Divyāvadāna and other sources<sup>5</sup> we may gather that it was something like a Pravāraṇā, a distribution of presents on a large scale, and an occasion for an extraordinary display of liberality to the Saṅgha<sup>6</sup>. The celebrated King Harṣa of Kanauj, surnamed Śīlāditya, had the custom of regularly convoking such an assembly<sup>7</sup>.

## PART V.

# OUTLINES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

## I. FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL.

The first century of the history of the Buddhist community is marked by two events which are separated by an interval of 100 years, no more nor less<sup>8</sup>. Those events are the first and the second Council, Saṅgīti, the account of which makes part of the canonical books, and, with unimportant discrepancies, is common to all sects.

The narrative of the first Council, as given in the Pāli canon<sup>9</sup>, is in short as follows. After the demise of the Master a certain Subhadda, who had become a member of the Order in his old age<sup>10</sup>, said to his fellows: "Do

<sup>1</sup> DAVY, Account of the interior of Ceylon p. 169; FALLEGUET, Description du royaume de Siam I. 249. Something like it in Tibet; WADDILL op. c. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Dipav. XXI, 28; XXII, 60; Mahav. pp. 212; 222. FALLEGUET l. c. For the same festival with the Vaiṣakhas see Pañcavārṣika II, 7, 38; for the Saṅgīti from the 5th of Vaiśākha till after the full-moon, Kāṭyāyana Brāhṃa-S. XXIV, 7, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Voy. II, 462; cp. 335. It is not plain which of the two dates, the 8th day after the full-moon of Kārttika, or the last of Vaiśākha.

<sup>4</sup> Rec. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Divy. 403; cp. 248; 398; 403; 419; 429; Rec. 22; Voy. I, 374; 392; II, 38.

<sup>6</sup> The quinquennial tour of inspection, Anusamyāna, by the Dharmamahānāmas, ordered by Aśoka (Rock Edict III), bears a different character: there is no question of an assembly. P. anusamyāna, to go for inspecting, to visit, occurs e. g. S. Vibh. I, p. 43; Ang. N. I, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Voy. I, 113; II, 232.

<sup>8</sup> Except in some N. accounts which give 110 years; WADDILL B. 225.

<sup>9</sup> CV. XI; Dipav. IV. V. Buddhaghoṣa in S. Vibh. I, 285 ff. Bodhiy. 83 ff. Cp. ODMANING Intro. to MV. XXVI, ff.

<sup>10</sup> Apparently another than Subhadda "the last disciple whom the Lord himself converted", M'S. V, 69. Cp. Tib. I. 293; Voy. II, 339.

not grieve, do not lament! We are happily rid of the Great Śramaṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told: "This befits you, this befits you not." But now we shall be able to do what we like, and what we do not like, we shall not have to do." In order to obviate the dangerous effects of such unbecoming utterances, Kāśyapa the Great, whom the Master had designed as his successor<sup>1</sup>, made the proposal that the brethren should assemble to rehearse the Lord's precepts. The proposal was adopted, and Kāśyapa was now entreated to select 500 Arhats. This being done, it was decided that Rājagṛha should be the place of assembly. During a seven month's session in the Sattapanna or Sattapani Cave of the Vebhāra Hill near Rājagṛha the Vinaya was fixed with the assistance of Upālī, the Dhamma with Ānanda's.

It has been remarked by OLDENBERG<sup>2</sup> that "what we have here before us is not history, but pure invention, and, moreover, an invention of no very ancient date. Apart from internal reasons that might be adduced to prove this, we are able to prove it by comparing an older text which is older than this story." That text is the Mahā-Parmibbāna-Sutta, where, indeed, the story of the irreverent conduct of Subhadda equally occurs, but in such a way that it cannot have been the motive for Kāśyapa's proposal to convoke a Council.

Now the motive alleged in the CV. is not only absent from the Sutta, but likewise from the Dipavaṃsa. Hence the argument for the great antiquity of that Sutta falls to the ground, for the Dipav. cannot be made older than the CV. But this remark in no wise invalidates the conclusion that the dogmatical story of the first Council, as told in CV., is comparatively young. No wonder that we find nothing of that alleged motive with the N. sects. In the Mahāvastu<sup>3</sup> Kāśyapa is induced to have the precepts collected because he wished to prevent that people might say: "The Śākya-sons kept the precepts only as long the Master was alive, and they forsake them after his demise." This very motive, and almost in the same words, really recurs in the CV., but on occasion of the discussion during the Council regarding the observation of the small and minor precepts<sup>4</sup>. The place where the Council was held, is, in the same work, the Cave Sattapanna, a resort of Rsis, on the North of the Vāhāra hill<sup>5</sup>. Other N. accounts we here dismiss, referring the reader to the somewhat troubled sources<sup>6</sup>.

All available accounts of the Council at Rājagṛha agree in this that the Vinaya and Dhamma were rehearsed. Some add the Abhidhamma, but this is not mentioned in CV. nor in Dipavaṃsa<sup>7</sup>. There is a general agreement

<sup>1</sup> On a certain occasion Kāśyapa had offered his Saṅghaṣi to the Buddha; Samy. N. II, p. 221; Tib. L. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. MV. p. XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> I, 60.

<sup>4</sup> CV. XI, 9: "Sace mayam khuddānukhuddakani sikkhapaṇaṇi samuttarissama, bhaṇvāsaṇi vattitvā: dharmakālikāṃ Samāseṇa Gotamena sāvākaṇaṃ sikkhapaṇaṇi parivattam." Cp. Mhv. I, c.

Tirikkāḷaṇi na labhiṇṇagacchitva  
kurup āramāṇa āsāradāsaṃ |  
dharmakālikāṇaṃ tīṇa bhāṇavāsaṇaṃ;  
cittā eva na te cakkasāyaṃ na ||

<sup>5</sup> Read with the MSS. *Sattapanna Rājagṛhapāṇi*, and in the following line *Paṭṭhāra*. Cp. Rec. 35 of Fa Hsian, who had very dim notions of the Council, for he fancied that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana had been present at the assembly, though it is generally known that both died before the Master.

<sup>6</sup> Tib. I. 305; ROCKHILL. op. c. 148 ff. Voy. I, 156; BL. 32. Cp. also MAHAVER Recherches I, 28.

<sup>7</sup> ROCKHILL. op. c. 160; Tib. L. 307; Voy. I, 158. The collection of the Abhidhamma, or Mitrkāṇ, is ascribed to Kāśyapa. The phrase *Pyakam tīṇi saṅgāṇaṃ ākappa* CV. p. 293 proves nothing, it only occurring in the *saṃvā*.

also as to the parts played by Upāli and Ānanda in the proceedings. But on comparing the different accounts we easily perceive that other Disciples, too, were contributors to the whole of the collection. We read that Kāśyapa was the chief "propounder" of the Dhutavāda precepts, whilst Ānanda was the first of those learned (in the Suttas or Dhamma), and Upāli in the Vinaya\*. If we are asked how much we have to believe of the canonical accounts of the first Council, we are in good conscience bound to acknowledge that the only really historical fact is this that the Council of the Śthaviras at Rājagṛha is recognized by all Buddhists. It is by no means incredible that the Disciples after the death of the founder of their sect came together to come to an agreement concerning the principal points of the creed and of the discipline. A rehearsal of the Tripiṭaka, or even of the Vinaya and Sūtra collections, is wholly out of question†. Some elements of the tales connected with the first Council may, and probably will be older than the composition of the sacred writings, but they have been disfigured to such an extent that it is as yet impossible to separate the dogmatical and legendary elements from the historical facts‡.

## 2. SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL.

According to the universal Buddhist tradition the second general Council was held at Vaiśālī. The records of it look like copies of a genuine historical document which have been falsified as to the date and in some other particulars.

The most circumstantial account is preserved in the P. Vinaya<sup>1</sup>. It is in substance as follows. A century after the Lord's Parinirvāṇa the monks of Vṛjī (Vaijī) lineage at Vaiśālī declared as permissible the Ten Points (*dasa saḍḍhāni*), to wit: 1. storing salt in a horn; 2. the taking of the midday meal when the sun's shadow shows two finger-breadths after noon; 3. the going to some village (or: to another village) and there eating fresh food<sup>2</sup>; 4. residing (in the same parish and yet holding the Uposatha separately); 5. sanction (of a solemn act in an incomplete chapter); 6. the (unconditional) following of a precedent; 7. the partaking of unchurned milk; 8. of unfermented toddy; 9. the use of a mat without fringes (not conform with the model prescribed); 10. to accept gold and silver.

At that time the Śthavira Yaśas, Kākaṇḍaka's son, came to Vaiśālī, and whilst staying in the Mahāvāṇa, witnessed the unlawful practices of the Vṛjīan monks. By addressing the laity he endeavoured to stop the iniquity of the brethren, who instead of desisting from their wrong practices, carried out against him the act of making excuses to the offended laity. Yaśas protested and demanded that a companion should be appointed to go with himself as a messenger, so that he might have the occasion of asking redress for the wrong done to him. His demand being vouchsafed, he entered with his com-

<sup>1</sup> Dīpav. IV, V.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WASSILIEF B. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the remarks of MINAYEV op. c. 30.

<sup>4</sup> CV. XII. Cp. Buddhaghosa in S. Vibh. I, 293 ff. Saddh. S. II; Dīpav. V, 16 ff. Mahāv. IV.

<sup>5</sup> The explanation of the elliptical terms in CV. XII, 1, 10; 2, 3, and in MINAYEV'S Prātim. XXXIX, is of dubious value. Both the Points and the interpretation differ more or less in the Tibetan Vinayakāśtras, Tar. 41; cp. ROCKHILL op. c. 171, f. The terms were obscure even to the Thera Revata, one of the chiefs of the Council. — A discussion on the interpretation of the terms in MINAYEV Recherches I, 44—50.



panion into the city of Vaiśālī, where he laid his case before the believing laymen. He was deservedly successful in his eloquent pleading, for the laymen after hearing him declared that he alone was a worthy Śramaṇa and son of Sākya. The Vṛjjan monks, being informed by their deputy of the decision, continued obstinate, and carried out against Yaśas the act of excommunication. But Yaśas rose up into the sky, and descended at Kaśāṭṭhi. From that place he sent messengers to the brethren in the W. country, in Avanti, and in the S. country, summoning them to an assembly<sup>1</sup>. He himself went to Sambhūta Śāravastī on the Ahogaṅga Hill, told him what had happened, and persuaded him that a lawful decision in the case was absolutely necessary. In the meantime many brethren, all Arhats, flocked together from the regions afore-named. After some deliberation they arrived at the conclusion that it would be of the utmost importance to persuade Revata, then dwelling at Soreyya, he being a man who knew the Āgamas, the Dharma, the Viśaya, and the Mātrkāś<sup>2</sup>. Now Revata on perceiving by his divine ear what the Śhāvitas intended to do, and wishing to keep out of the quarrel, left Soreyya for Sāṅkāsya. When the brethren arrived at Soreyya and heard that Revata had left for Sāṅkāsya, they travelled to that place. On arriving they heard that he had gone to Kanauj. After many fruitless endeavours they at last overtook him in Sahajāti. There Yaśas had an interview with Revata, and submitted to him the question whether the Ten Points were allowable. The decision of Revata — as might be expected — was that they were not, whereupon Yaśas persuaded him to take the legal question in hand before the unlawful practices could become general.

Meanwhile the Vṛjjan monks of Vaiśālī had heard rumours about the doings of Yaśas, and being convinced that the opinion of Revata would carry great weight, they decided upon trying to gain him over to their party. So they went to Sahajāti. Before they had had occasion to meet Revata, it happened that the Thera Sālha felt some doubt whether the monks of the West or those of the East were in accordance with the Law. His doubts were happily soon dissipated by a heavenly being, to whom he promised to make manifest his opinion when needed.

The Vaiśālī monks had no success in their endeavours to gain over Revata, in spite of the presents they offered to him and of their machinations to bribe Uṭṭara, a disciple of his.

When the legal assembly had met to decide the question, Revata proposed a resolution that the Saṅgha should settle the question at that place where it arose, i. e. at Vaiśālī. The resolution being adopted, the brethren went to Vaiśālī. Now at that time there lived in that city an old Thera, Sabbakāmin by name, who 120 years ago had received Upasampadā. This venerable monk of the East was asked by Sambhūta and Revata his opinion, and he made to them the same promise as Sālha had done to the heavenly being.

In the subsequent meeting of the Saṅgha the proceedings did not succeed, which circumstance moved Revata to lay a proposal before the assembly that the question should be submitted to a committee. So he selected a committee of eight persons, four monks of the East, viz. Sabbakāmin, Sālha, Khajja-sobhita, and Vāsabhagāmika; and four of the West: Revata, Sambhūta, Viśas, and Sumana. The younger monk Ajita was appointed as regulator of seats.

<sup>1</sup> The Western monks are designated as "Paṭheyyaka bhikkhus". For Paṭheyya and Paṭheyyaka see ED. MÜLLER JPTS. of 1838, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> This points to a previous collection of the Abhidharma.

As the place of-meeting of the committee was chosen the Valikārūma, a quiet and undisturbed spot.

The proceedings of the committee<sup>1</sup> were conducted in this manner that Revata put the questions, and Sāhlikāmin delivered his authoritative replies. All the Ten Points were declared to be against the rules, and therewith the Vṛjia monks were put in the wrong<sup>2</sup>. The assembly *in pleno*, in which the Vinaya was rehearsed, is said to have consisted of 700 monks. No mention whatever is made of the Suttas and the Abhidhamma.

Before adducing other testimonies, we cannot help observing that the date assigned to the second Council is impossible, unless the heroes of the tale are purely fictitious. A century after the Parinirvāṇa, Śārvakāmin would have been at least 140 years of age; Yaśas, Kākaṇḍaka's son, if he be identical with Yaśas, one of the first converts of the Buddha, would have been  $20 + 45 + 100 = 165$  years; if he be another, then he must have been more than 120 years, and so, too, the other Theras<sup>3</sup>. A chronology leading to such monstrous results condemns itself. The names of the acting Theras *may* be historical, and the account of their doings, apart from some incongruities and absurdities, *may* be founded upon a genuine tradition.

The later Sinhalese documents pretend to know much more of the Council of Vaiśālī than the canonical Vinaya. They give in substance what is found in the sacred text, but with additions which partly are not warranted by, and partly positively conflicting, with the canonical record. Thus the Dipav. one time fixes the number of those who attended the second Council at 700, another time at 1200000<sup>4</sup>. It further adds that at the time of the second Council "Aśoka, the son of Sīśunāga, was king; that prince ruled in the town of Pāṭaliputra". Elsewhere<sup>5</sup> Sīśunāga is called the immediate predecessor of the Nandas, so that Sīśunāga is confounded with Kāla (v. l. Kāla) Aśoka. Such incongruities have nothing to surprise us in a work which is not a well-digested composition, but an uncritical collection of various older sources, chiefly memorial verses. Hence the same event is told twice with variations. The most important addition is the statement that after the second Council had been closed, another Council was held by the losing party. "The wicked Bhikkhus, the Vajjiputtakas who had been excommunicated by the Theras, gained another party; and many people, holding the wrong doctrine, ten thousand, assembled and held a council. Therefore this Dhamma-council is called the Great Council (*Mahāsangīti*)."<sup>6</sup> Herewith compare the statement in another work<sup>7</sup> that the ten thousand wicked Bhikkhus established the wrong doctrine termed the Ācariya-vāda, i. e. the doctrine of the Ācariyas, in contradistinction to the orthodox doctrine of the Sthaviras, the Theravāda. The wrong doctrine is also called that of the Mahāsangha (*Mahāsanghika*). Hence follows, if the tradition is to be trusted, that instead of one Council, two Councils were held, the second by the condemned party<sup>8</sup>, a short time after

<sup>1</sup> Mahāv. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Points 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, and 9 were in conflict with Art. 38, 37, 35, 35, 31, and 89 of Title Pācittiya; Point 10 with Art. 10 Nissaggiya; Point 4 and 5 with MV. II, 8, 3, and IX, 3, 5; the decision of Point 6 depends upon circumstances.

<sup>3</sup> Sāhka died before the Lord; MPJ, II, 6. This fact is ignored in CV., or perhaps he had been resuscitated. Why not? We have in too serious a work as the Mil. P. a striking instance of revival in the case of the six Tirthikas.

<sup>4</sup> Dipav. IV, 32; V, 20; 25.

<sup>5</sup> Dipav. V, 99.

<sup>6</sup> Bodhiv. p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Mark that the party had not at all been condemned in matters of doctrine, but exclusively in points of discipline.

the former. Further it would appear that the majority of the Buddhists clung to the so-called schismatics. How else to explain such terms as *Mahāsāṅgī* and *Mahāsāṅghika*? The denomination of *Ācāryavāda* given by the orthodox to the *Mahāsāṅghika* or *Mahāsāṅghika* doctrine, suggests the fact that the latter cause was upheld by the more learned elements of the Order.

Now the question arises "where did the *Mahāsāṅgī* assemble?" We have not been able to find a distinct statement in the Sinhalese sources. According to a N. tradition the council of the *Mahāsāṅghikas* was held not far from the place where the first Council had assembled<sup>1</sup>. We are informed that the party of the Great Assembly, the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, derived that name from both monks and laics attending the Council, and that on that occasion a new collection of the Scriptures was made. There is no question of the Ten Points or the orthodox Council at Vaiśālī<sup>2</sup>.

In the Sinhalese sources the leaders of the *Mahāsāṅghikas* are identified with the Vṛjjan monks of Vaiśālī. Now we know that these were in possession of the Kaṭṭagāra Hall of the Mahāvāna, as the chronicles affirm<sup>3</sup>. In order to obviate this difficulty, the Sinhalese have invented a tale, The King Kāla Aśoka at first favoured the heretics — exactly as the historical Aśoka did —, but afterwards he changed his mind, thanks to the interference of the gods and to a dream of his sister. By his protection the orthodox could assemble in the Mahāvāna monastery, whereas the committee had its sittings in the Vālī-kārāma. The canonical account knows nothing of an assembly in the Mahāvāna, nor is any mention made of it in the *Bodhiyaṃsa* nor by Buddhaghosa<sup>4</sup>, though the latter, after saying that the second Council is called that of the 700, adds that it was attended by 1200-000 monks, precisely as in the *Dīpav.* All available Sinhalese accounts agree in asserting that the whole collection of the Dhamma and Vinaya was revised, against the authority of the canon, which only speaks of a Vinaya Saṅgīti. In the N. tradition just alluded to there is, indeed, likewise question of a revision of the complete sacred texts, but by the *Mahāsāṅghikas*.

The contradictions between the canon and the Sinhalese narratives are apt to move grave doubts as to the connection between the condemning of the Ten Points and the schismatic Great Council. Let us now turn to the N. traditions<sup>5</sup> about the question of the Ten Points.

When one hundred and ten years had elapsed after the Nirvāṇa some monks at Vaiśālī deviated from the Law and transgressed the rules of discipline in 'Ten Points'. In those days there lived an old Śhāvira, Yaśas, in Kossala; another, Sambhūta, in Mathurā. Revata in Sahaja, Kuṇḍasobhita in Pāṭaliputra — all of them pupils of Ānanda<sup>6</sup>. Yaśas despatched messengers to summon the brethren to a gathering in Vaiśālī. When 600 monks had come together, Kuṇḍasobhita, perceiving by his divine eye what was going on, appeared by Riddhi in the midst of the assembly to complete the number. Sambhūta proposed in due form a resolution that the monks of Vaiśālī, who in

<sup>1</sup> Voy. I. 138; III. 37.

<sup>2</sup> No more than in the account found in a Chinese commentary on the Vinaya; WASSILIEF II. 215. As to the heretical theories of the *Mahāsāṅghikas* in matter of doctrine, see Kathav. P. A. X; XI; XII; XIV; XV; XVI; XVIII; XXI.

<sup>3</sup> *Dīpav.* V. 29, but *Bodhiy.* and Buddhaghosa have Vālūkārāma.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīpav.* I. c. again does not mention the Vālūkārāma.

<sup>5</sup> ROCKHILL op. c. 171 ff. Voy. II. 397; Tār. 290.

<sup>6</sup> The expressions in Voy. I. 2. remind one of *apagata-mathurāṇa, ubhaya*, CV. XII. 2. 8.

<sup>7</sup> To whom may be added from Bu-ston (Tār. 290): Śāliha and Añña; uncertain is Vṛkṣabhagāmhi, or rather impossible, for *Nav-eva* means "wealthy".

the Ten Points had deviated from the regulations of the Master, should be censured. The resolution being adopted, "the great assembly" proceeded to severely censure the delinquents, who repented and left their bad practices.

It does not appear to which of the various sects this version of the story belongs. This much is clear that it more or less differs from the tradition of the Mahāsāskas and from another in the Bu-ston<sup>1</sup>. On comparing the version preserved to us by the Chinese pilgrim with the narrative in the Pili canon, the former makes the impression of being older, but on the whole they are much on a par. Both versions agree — and that is an important point — therein that they indirectly deny any connection between the condemnation of the Ten Points and the Council of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The expression "the great assembly", i. e. the meeting *in plene*, positively shows that there is no question of a Mahāsaṅgīti apart from the Council on Vinaya at Vaiśālī<sup>2</sup>. Such an agreement between the traditions of two totally different sects goes far to prove that the story of the Mahāsaṅgīti or Mahāsāṅghika schism as connected with the Council at Vaiśālī is an invention, perhaps suggested by such an expression as "the great assembly".

In one Tibetan source<sup>3</sup> we read that 110 years after the Nirvāṇa Yaśas and the pupils of Ānanda, to the number of 700, assembled in Vaiśālī, and there perfected a second collection. No such collection is spoken of in the other sources<sup>4</sup>. The rambling and confused narrative of Tāranātha<sup>5</sup> teaches us nothing.

If we wish to weigh against each other the value of the S. and that of the N. sources, we must begin with leaving out of the reckoning all unwarranted additions, either by the Sinhalese or by others. By so doing and by waiving points of secondary importance, we perceive that the difference runs about ten years, the P. canon fixing the Council at Vaiśālī at 100 years after Nirvāṇa, whereas most N. traditions give 110 years. Both dates are inadmissible, and for the same reason: the impossible age of the actors. Both the P. canon and the Vinayaśūdraka, as well as Huen Tsang leave us in the dark about the king in whose reign the second Council took place. That silence has given rise to interminable controversies on the date of Buddha's death<sup>6</sup>. According to the chronology adopted by the Sinhalese, the king reigning 100 years after Buddha's death was a certain Kāla Aśoka, whereas the N. Buddhists almost universally represent Aśoka the Maurya as having ascended the throne a century or thereabouts after Buddha's Nirvāṇa<sup>7</sup>. It would be

<sup>1</sup> Tar. 390 f.; ROCKHILL, op. c. 173. In the version of the Mahāsāskas the date is 100 years, the name of the president being Sarvakāma. This agreement with the Pili version is natural enough, because the Mahāsāskas have branched off from the Orthodox sect after the schism of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

<sup>2</sup> We have seen above that Huen Tsang gives elsewhere a separate account of the Mahāsāṅghika Council.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. L. 307f.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. ROCKHILL, op. c. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Tar. 41 f.

<sup>6</sup> The chief papers bearing on the chronological question are TURNOUR, Pref. to his ed. of Mahāv., and in JASB. VI, 505; LASSEN Ind. Alt. II, 51; MAX MÜLLER Anc. S. L. 263; SBE. X, pp. XXIX f.; WESTERGAARD, Über Buddha's Todesjahr; BÜHLER in Ind. Ant. VI, 149; VII, 141; XX, 299; SENART in JA. of 1879, p. 322; of 1892, p. 482; OTTERBERG in DMG. XXXV, 474; RHYE DAVIES Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon p. 57; FISCHER in Acad. of 1877, p. 145. Cp. BARTL, Rel. of India p. 107, and Mellett in Rel. de l'Inde of 1894.

<sup>7</sup> It is in the Avadāna-Śāśaka (BURNOUR Intr. 432) that Aśoka is said to have reigned at Pataliputra 200 years after Buddha's death. We may add that according to a notice in

very convenient if we could eliminate the difficulty by asserting — as has been done — that the N. Buddhists confounded two kings of the same name. Such an assertion is easy enough, but to make it good would be more difficult. In the first place, we should not speak of an involuntary confusion, for the all but general view of the N. Buddhists is intimately connected with the whole system of chronology. The Śhāvira Yaśas is most decidedly and deliberately represented as a contemporary of Dharma Aśoka<sup>1</sup>. There can be no doubt about his identity with the Yaśas of the Vaiśālī Council. For he declares to Aśoka the Maurya that he is the oldest remaining of the Disciples of the Buddha, Pindola Bhāradvāja alone excepted. The untrustworthiness of the tale remains the same, whether Yaśas showed his activity 100 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa in the reign of a King Kāla Aśoka, or of another King Dharma Aśoka. Where two accounts are equally abused, there is no reason to give a marked preference to either<sup>2</sup>. Under such circumstances any decisive choice is more a matter of taste or fancy, than of science, specially as we find no support in independent, Brahmanic sources<sup>3</sup>.

The only indisputable fact resulting from a comparison of the different accounts is the existence of conflicting traditions, and that in comparatively ancient times. Traces of unsettled questions are found in the Sinhalese documents. We have seen that in one of them Śīmāsa appears instead of Kālāsoka. Elsewhere we come across the following prophecy by the Buddha: "I shall reach complete Parinibbāna like the setting sun. Four months after my Parinibbāna the first convocation will be held. A hundred and eighteen years later the third convocation will take place, for the sake of the propagation of the Faith. Then there will be a ruler over this Jambudīpa, a highly virtuous, glorious monarch known as Dhammāsoka"<sup>4</sup>. This is not the only instance. In another work<sup>5</sup> the date of the beginning of Dugha-Gamani's reign is, in the prose text, 376 after the Nirvāṇa, but in the older and much more authoritative memorial verse following, it is 276.

If, in our helpless endeavours to find a firm support, we resort to the list of chief teachers succeeding the Master, we soon become aware of having caught hold of a feeble reed. The succession of teachers, Ācariyaparamparā, of the Theravāda down to the third Council, consists of the following names: Upālī, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, and Tissa Moggaliputta; some couple with Siggava

Tib. I. 309 Aśoka was born eight generations after Udayabhadrā. This gives more than 200 years, and in so far corroborates the Sinhalese tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Divy. 381; 385; 399; 404; 406; 423.

<sup>2</sup> The preference to the Sinhalese account is, from a critical standpoint, the less intelligible, because ever since Trautman advocated the claims of the Sinhalese chronology, it has been admitted on all hands that it contains an error of more than 60 years. That error has been palliated by the guess that such an error has sprung up after the period of Aśoka. But a system which contains such a blunder or wilful misstatement at a later period is *a fortiori* suspicious for more ancient times.

<sup>3</sup> For a comparative treatment of the Sinhalese and the Jaina chronology we refer to JARON, *BMC.* XXXIV, 185; XXXV, 667; cp. OLDENBERG XXXIV, 751.

<sup>4</sup> *Dipav.* I, 24—26. The translator adds in a note: "A mention of the second convocation, which was held a hundred years after Buddha's death, is wanting in the MSS.; the third is said to have been held 118 years after the second." The first statement is true, but fails to explain the reason why the mention is wanting. The second statement is not true, for from *Dipav.* VII, 37 it appears that the Council took place 276 years after Nirvāṇa. The date 218 is that of Aśoka's Abhisēka; *Dipav.* VI, 1; *Bodhiv.* p. 100; Ś. Vāh. I, 321, where the reckoning yields 228, but evidently owing to some error in the figures.

<sup>5</sup> *Sūdh-S.* p. 47.

the name of Candavajji<sup>1</sup>. It is well-known that Kāśyapa the Great, and not Upāli, was the head of the Order after Buddha's death, but it is admitted that Upāli was the chief of the Vinaya. Dāsaka and Sonaka are likewise designated as chiefs of the Vinaya. Therefore it is exceedingly strange that in the Council of Vaiśālī, where such important questions of discipline were treated, the chief Sonaka is conspicuous by his absence. If such a chief did exist, the great men of the committee completely ignored him. Another suspicious fact is the notice that Tissa Moggaliputta received the Upasampadā ordination in the 3d year of Candragupta's reign, i. e. 314 B. C. or somewhat earlier. He died 86 years after his ordination<sup>2</sup>, i. e. at the age of 106 years. If, contrary to the expressed view of the Sinhalese chroniclers, the numbers are taken as representing the years of life of the five teachers, then the sum total will yield  $5 \times 20 = 100$  less, because the Upasampadā is fixed at 20 years. The interval between the Nirvāṇa and the death of Tissa M. will then be reduced with a whole century. It is by no means impossible that a similar ambiguity in the traditional numbers lies at the bottom of the difference between the Sinhalese and the N. dates of the Nirvāṇa. The otherwise inexplicable want of agreement in regard of that date, may be accounted for on the assumption that the Buddhists of various sects were in the habit of calculating an initial date by summing up the traditional number of years allotted to the first five successive chiefs or reputed chiefs of the Vinaya<sup>3</sup>. The considerations which may have moved each sect to adopt their own date for the Nirvāṇa are concealed to us, but it would seem that in addition to dogmatical reasons the synchronism of ecclesiastical dates with events of local or national interest have influenced. Thus the Chinese have managed to throw back the initial date to  $\pm 1000$  B. C. It is possible, nay probable that the Sinhalese<sup>4</sup> have acted upon the same principle. This would explain how they got their date of 543 B. C., which is proved to be false.

The conclusions we arrive at after comparing the various traditions or what is given as such, are extremely vague, and may be summarized in the following propositions. The Council on Vinaya in Vaiśālī has an historical base; it was held  $x$  years after the death of the founder of the Order, and a considerable time before the composition and first collection of the great bulk of the Scriptures. It preceded, but had no connection with the schism of the Mahāśāṅghikas. We leave undecided whether Kālāsoka be an ingenious invention of the Sthavira sect or not. For our part, we have a lurking suspicion that the name originally denoted the Maurya king in his black and sinful days, and is almost synonymous with Candāsoka and Karmāsoka, as the monarch is called before his conversion, after which he became Dharmāsoka<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> S. Vith. I, 292; Dipav. IV; V, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Dipav. V, 94; but immediately after it we find 80 years; another instance of two conflicting statements in juxtaposition.

<sup>3</sup> Another list of five teachers (not of Vinaya) is: Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Medhantika, Śāgarasa, and Upagupta; WASSILIER B. 225; Tār. 14. Again another has: Ānanda, Yāsa, Śāmasika, wrongly identified with Yāsa, Upagupta, and Dhātika; Tib. L. 308. Cp. WASSILIER on Tār. 290. The great man in the time of Aśoka is Upagupta, of whom the Master predicts that he will fulfil the Buddha task (*Buddhakarṇam*) 100 years after the Parinirvāṇa; Divy. 350; he takes Orders under Śāpakarṣin; 349; his feats are described 352; 359; 363; 395; he speaks like the Buddha 428. Cp. BURNOUR-INT. 377 f. ROCHERET op. c. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Properly we should say: the date adopted by the monks of the Mahāvihāra. We are not acquainted with the chronological system of the monks of Abhayagiri.

<sup>5</sup> Divy. 374; 381 f.; Tār. 29; cp. 39.



## 3. COUNCIL OF PĀṬALIPUTRA.

This Council was no general Council, but a party meeting, of the Theravādas or Vibhajjavādins, as it was held after the schism of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the men of the Mahāsāṅgīti. No wonder that it is ignored by all other sects.

The account of this party meeting, held at Pāṭaliputra 18 years after the Abhiśeka of Aśoka, is so full of glaring untruths that but few of the particulars can be accepted as historical. The story<sup>1</sup> runs in short as follows.

The Theras of the Council at Vaiśālī foresaw that after 118 years there would arise a Śramaṇa, who descending from Brahma's heaven, would be born in a Brahman family. His name would be Tissa, his surname Mogga-liputta. After having received ordination from the couple Siggava and Candavajjī<sup>2</sup> he would annihilate the Tīrthika doctrines<sup>3</sup> and firmly establish the Faith. This would happen when Aśoka, a righteous king, would reign in Pāṭaliputra.

When *all* the 700 Theras of the second Council had attained final Nirvāṇa, Tissa was born, grew up, and was taught the Brahmanic sciences, until he became a convert and was received into the Order by Siggava. His Upasampadā coincides with the third year of Candragupta's reign, i.e. somewhere between 218 and 212 B. C.

When 236 years had elapsed after the Nirvāṇa, sixty-thousand monks dwelt in the Aśokārāma. Secretarians of different descriptions, all of them wearing the Kāśāya, ruined the Doctrine of the Jina. It was then that Tissa M. convoked a Council, attended by 1000 monks. Having destroyed the false doctrines and subdued many shameless people, he restored the true Faith, and propounded the Abhidhamma treatise Kathāvaṭṭha. It was from him that Mahendra, the future apostle of Ceylon, learnt the 5 Nikāyas, the 7 books of Abhidhamma, and the whole Vinaya.

This tale is immediately followed by a second account, evidently taken from another source, but in the main agreeing with the former; the number of monks in the assembly has increased to sixty-thousand; a difference of no value except inasmuch as it furnishes another instance of the uncritical compilatory character of the chronicle.

We have left out all the downright absurdities of the tale, but even so pruned it betrays its dogmatical and sectarian tendency. The principal object of the whole story is to prove that the Vibhajjavādins of the Mahāvihāra are the real and original orthodox sect<sup>4</sup>. Such a claim could hardly remain uncontested by other divisions of the orthodox, e. g. the Mahāśāstakas, who were flourishing in Ceylon when Fa Hien visited the island. Now the question arises: have we sufficient data to pronounce a judgment in the case? Let us see.

The chronicles representing the views of the Vibhajjavādins make a broad distinction between the Theravāda with its offshoots, and the Mahāsāṅghika or Ācāryavāda schism with its subdivisions<sup>5</sup>. The orthodox Theravāda

<sup>1</sup> Dīpaṇ. V, 55—69; VI, 21 ff.; VIII, 34—39; S. Vibh. I, 294 ff.; 306—313; Mahāv. pp. 30—33; 42 ff.; Bodhiv. p. 104 ff. Buddhaghōṣa Sam. Pās. in S. Vibh. I, 294. Cp. MAYER'S Recherches I, Ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup> A quite extraordinary proceeding, as according to the regulations the ordination is conferred by one person.

<sup>3</sup> Which are wholly out of question in a Buddhist council.

<sup>4</sup> Consequently Siggava and Candavajjī were not among the 700. This number is canonical, but at variance with Dīpaṇ. V, 20.

<sup>5</sup> S. Vibh. I, 312; Bodhiv. p. 110; Kathav. P. A. p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Dīpaṇ. V, 39 ff.; Bodhiv. 96; Kathav. P. A. pp. 2—5.

in course of time produced the Mahāśāsakas and the Vajjiputtakas; the latter branched off into four sections: the Dharmottarikas, Bhadravānikas, Śāṇḍagarikas, and Sammitīyas; the former, into the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmagupūkas. Further offshoots may be passed in silence.

In this enumeration no sect of Vibhajjavādins occurs; naturally so, because the Vibhajjavādins themselves hold up the claim that their tenets and their canon are identical with those of the primitive Śthaviravāda. But if we turn to other documents, we cannot but feel some misgivings whether the claims put forward by the monks of the Mahāvihāra are wholly indisputable. According to the system of the schismatic Mahāsāṅghikas, who had not the slightest interest in being partial anent a question exclusively touching outsiders, we have to adopt a threefold primary division of the Saṅgha into Śthaviras, Mahāsāṅghikas, and Vibhajjavādins<sup>1</sup>. The Śthaviras are subdivided into Sarvāstivādins and Vajjiputtīyas, evidently the same with the Vajjiputtakas (i. e. Vjijputrakas) of the chronicles. This subdivision would entirely agree with the former, were it not that the Dipav. has put the Mahāśāsakas between the Śthaviras and the Sarvāstivādins. One of the subdivisions of the Orthodox in the N., the Sarvastivādins, consider the Mūla-sarvastivādins to be more primitive than the Vibhajjavādins, though they acknowledge the monks of Mahāvihāra, as well as those of the Abhayagiri and of the Jetavana in Ceylon, to be Śthaviras<sup>2</sup>. In another source<sup>3</sup> we read that some time after the Lord's Parinirvāṇa the Saṅgha was split up into two sects, the Śthaviras and the Mahāsāṅghikas, in the reign of Aśoka. In the third century the Śthaviras divided themselves into two sects, the Sarvāstivādins, otherwise named Hetuvādins or Vibhajjavādins, and the primitive Śthaviras, who, however, adopted the denomination of Haimavatas<sup>4</sup>. In a Tibetan list of comparatively late date the monks of the Mahāvihāra are entered as a distinct sect, but we may dismiss that view as erroneous, or at least as not exact<sup>5</sup>.

The evidence adduced, if not wholly satisfactory, is sufficient to prove, not, indeed, that the pretensions of the Vibhajjavādins were unfounded, but that they were disputable, and that, consequently, it was the interest of the sect to back their claims by some weighty arguments. Hence the pains they have taken to spread the belief that the language of their canonical writings is Māgadhī; an assertion by which they have long time imposed upon European scholars. Another fiction is the prediction of the birth of Tissa M. and his descent from heaven. A third device to prove the absolute authenticity of their canon is the assertion that the Parivāra belonged to the books rehearsed at the Council of Pāṭaliputra<sup>6</sup>, though we know that another section of the orthodox Sinhalese did not recognise its authenticity<sup>7</sup>.

A review of all the testimonies available leaves no doubt that the assembly at Pāṭaliputra was a party meeting, from which the Mahāsāṅghikas were excluded. Whether in those days all the Śthaviravādins formed one compact body and took part in the proceedings of the assembly, is a point which for want of data we must leave undecided. We only venture to observe

<sup>1</sup> Tār. 271. Cp. ROCKHILL, op. c. 182—196; MINAYEF *Recherches Ch.* VIII, IX. An exposition of the tenets of the various texts, viewed from the standpoint of the Vibhajjavādins or Theras of the Mahāvihāra, is found in KATHAV. P. A.

<sup>2</sup> Tār. 272.

<sup>3</sup> See WASSMANN B. 224—226; 230.

<sup>4</sup> In KATHAV. P. A. the Hetuvādins are implicitly represented as holding opinions differing from those of the Vibhajjavādins; XV; XVI; XVII; XIX; XX; XXXIII.

<sup>5</sup> BERNIERE *Intr.* 445; Lot. 357; WASSMANN B. 267; cp. Tār. I. c.

<sup>6</sup> This results from Dipav. VII, 43.

<sup>7</sup> THURSON, *Intr.* to Mahav. CL.

that either the Sinhalese Vibhajjavādiās have to some extent misrepresented the proceedings, or that the N. orthodox sects have had reason to efface the memory of that event. How else to explain that the memorable figure of Tissa Moggaliputta has totally fallen into oblivion? If we believe the Sinhalese chronicles, it was "far-seeing Moggaliputta who perceived by his supernatural vision the propagation of the Faith in the future in the neighbouring countries, — sent Majjhantika and other Theras, each with four companions, for the sake of establishing the Faith in foreign countries, for the enlightenment of men"<sup>1</sup>. *Madhyantika* being recognized as a great apostle among all Buddhists<sup>2</sup>, it is hard to understand how his name could have survived, whereas Tissa, who sent him out, was totally forgotten. If we cling to the view that the assembly at Pāṭaliputra was a party meeting, and not a general Council, the relative obscurity of Tissa M. becomes intelligible.

#### 4. REIGN OF AŚOKA.

The assembly at Pāṭaliputra is stated to have taken place 18 years after the Abhiṣeka of Aśoka, a date we have no reason to distrust. This king, who in his edicts calls himself Piyadasi<sup>3</sup>, was the son of Bindusāra, and the grandson of Candragupta, the famous founder of the Maurya dynasty. His father reigned 27 or 28 years; his grandfather 24. If the notice in the Sinhalese chronicles that Aśoka had reigned four or three years before his Abhiṣeka<sup>4</sup> be correct, this event must fall 4 + 27 + 24 after the accession of Candragupta. The exact date of the first Maurya ascending the throne is unknown, but it must lie somewhere between 320 and 315 B. C.<sup>5</sup>, so that the date of 259 B. C. assigned to the Abhiṣeka of Aśoka by Lassen and other scholars after him must be approximately right<sup>6</sup>.

Aśoka is described by the Buddhists as something like a monster in his youth, as an exemplary ruler after his conversion to Buddhism, and as a dotard in his old age. Their testimony is not corroborated, nor directly contradicted by his numerous edicts<sup>7</sup>. Those invaluable documents, so precious in many respects, afford us no real insight into the monarch's character. They show to a certain extent that he was not devoid of vanity and that he was much addicted to moralizing, but at the same time he seems to have been in earnest with his endeavours to heighten the moral standard of his subjects. His inscriptions, with a few exceptions, contain nothing particularly Buddhistic; some passages must even have been distasteful to many of his coreligionists. More than once he prides himself of his kind feelings towards all sects, his protection of the Ājivikas and Nirgranthas<sup>8</sup>, whereas the Buddhists in their writings, sacred and profane, never lose an opportunity to blacken those hated rivals. In so far as the edicts have no sectarian character, they

<sup>1</sup> Dipav. VIII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

<sup>3</sup> Piyadasi and Piyadassana also Dipav. VI, 1; 2; 14; 24; XV, 58 ff.; XVI, 53 etc.

<sup>4</sup> Dipav. VI, 21; three years Mahāv. V, 34.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Jordanus XV, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Alt. II, 227.

<sup>7</sup> Complete translations by SENART "Les inscriptions de Piyadasi", I and II; cp. "Notes d'épigraphie indienne", 5 fascicules; BÜHLER, "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften", DMG. XXXVII; XXXIX—XLI; XLV; "Aśoka's Felsenedikte" XLIV; "Śāhī-bāzgarhī and Maussatra Version" XLIII; "Nachträge" XLVI; XLVIII; "Aśoka's Rajukas" XLVII. Cp. Ep. Ind. vol. II, 245 ff. 447 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E. g. Delhi Ed. VIII, dating 27 years after his Abhiṣeka.

do not here concern us; we have only to take cognizance of those inscriptions in which the King speaks as a fervent Buddhist.

The first document which has to detain us is that of the Bairat rock<sup>1</sup>. It is a missive from Aśoka to the Saṅgha, in token of the king's feelings of reverence and affection towards the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, and of his conviction that the word of the Lord Buddha is a gospel and authoritative. Then he proceeds to enumerate some Dharmaparyāyas, i. e. canonical texts, which according to his wish should be steadily heard (learnt) and rehearsed by the monks and nuns, as well as by the laics of both sexes.

This missive, which, of course, is posterior to the King's conversion, though no precise date can be fixed, proves most clearly that at the time of its being issued a body of canonical texts was existing. Among the titles only one can be identified with certainty, "the Laghulovāda concerning falsehood"<sup>2</sup>. "The Questions of Upatīṣṭha" is identical, at least as to the title, with "The Questions of Śāriputra", only known through a Chinese translation<sup>3</sup>. From the circumstance that so few titles have been identified we should draw no consequences, because the same text was frequently known by several titles<sup>4</sup>. It is undeniable that a title like Vinayasamuk(k)a(s)a at any rate refers to a book belonging to the class of Vinaya. Consequently the Sutta- and the Vinaya-Pitaka are both represented in the collection, and if a work on Abhidharma is wanting, it proves nothing against the existence of that part of the Tripiṭaka, because the King recommends a selection of sacred texts, not the whole body. Of the version in which the works enumerated were existing, we cannot say anything definite; the titles are given in Māgadhī, and it is all but certain that Aśoka had in view texts in that idiom.

The second inscription, an edict issued by Aśoka when he had become a zealot, has been discovered at several places of his dominions, in slightly differing copies<sup>5</sup>. All the copies of the edict are unhappily replete with difficulties of every kind. The beginning of the Rāpāṭh edict may be translated as follows:

"The Devanampīya speaketh thus: more than two years and a half I was a lay devotee, and I did not strongly exert myself. But it is (now) more than a year (or possibly: six years) that I have entered the Saṅgha, and that I have strongly exerted myself. Those who during this period were truly gods in Jambudvīpa, are now made false"<sup>6</sup>. The last sentence runs slightly different in the Sahasrām copy: "And in this time who were falsely (considered) gods, they (were) men falsely deified."

The first knotty point is the date of the edict. It is impossible to refer

<sup>1</sup> Coussemontes Corp. Inscr. Pl. XV.

<sup>2</sup> With the Ambalaṭṭhika-Kāshulovāda-Sutta, Majjh. N. I, No. 61.

<sup>3</sup> BEAL, Tripit. p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> This has been remarked by COUSSEMONTES, Inscr. to MV. XL, where an identification of other titles is proposed. Cp. MINAYEF, Recherches I, 87—91.

<sup>5</sup> The three first discovered copies have been edited by BURLA in his paper "Three new edicts of Aśoka" Ind. Ant. 1877; second notice, 1878. The controversies to which these publications gave rise have been taken up by the same in Ind. Ant. 1893, p. 299 ff., where the papers of his antagonists are cited. The redactions found in Mysore have been published by RICE (Bangalore, 1892) and Ep. Ind. III, 124.

<sup>6</sup> It may be observed that a man speaking in such a manner cannot have taken the word Devanampīya — a compound like Yedhiḥḥīra, and no more two words — in its etymological acceptation of "dear to the gods", a meaning which in fact nowhere occurs. Probably Aśoka attached to the compound the meaning of "harmless, pious." In later times the Jains are designated as Devanampīyas, which well accords with their being promoters of harmlessness, of Ahimsa, to the extreme. The transition of harmless, pious to idiot, reminds one of ॐॐॐॐ.

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it to the last years of Aśoka, if the Sinhalese chronological notices deserve unlimited credit. But they do not. To make good this assertion it will suffice to elect a few facts out of many. The oldest chronicle tells us that Aśoka was anointed king when he had accomplished twenty years, at which date he had a son, Mahendra, fourteen years. Before his anointment the monarch had reigned four years — others say: three. In the commencement of his reign he murdered his 100 — more accurately — 99 half-brothers; yet the same authority contradicts itself by telling us in another passage that the history of the brothers happened in the seventh year of his reign, two years before the ordination of Mahendra, which was conferred upon this prince when he was 20 years, consequently 6 years after the commencement of his father's reign<sup>1</sup>. Another authority avers that Aśoka passed the four years before his anointment with killing his 99 brothers<sup>2</sup>. Both authorities agree in fixing the conversion of the King at 7 years or in the 7th year of his reign, but a third confounds the beginning of the reign with the Abhiṣeka<sup>3</sup>. The evidence of such witnesses is for critical purposes not worth a straw, unless receiving somehow a support from another quarter. No such support is forthcoming. In the Delhi inscription, dating 27 years after Aśoka's Abhiṣeka, he prides himself of the care and benefits he bestows upon all sects, so that the Sinhalese assertions of the King dismissing sixty thousand heretics<sup>4</sup> is not supported. It is not improbable that the King had already become a convert when the Delhi edict was issued, but it is manifest that he was not yet the zealot he shows himself in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, &c. Therefore these must fall between the year 27 from his anointment, and 37 of his reign, for he died after a reign of 37 years. This result is corroborated by a significant notice in the last named edicts. For the King makes known that after having been during some time an Upāsaka he has joined the Saṅgha<sup>5</sup>. Now it is hard to imagine how a married man can belong to the Saṅgha. It is true that, according to Buddhist notions, the king is in some respects above the law, and more than once the Master allows that his own prescriptions are infringed for the king's pleasure<sup>6</sup>, but we are unwilling to admit that the license was illimited.

All Buddhist traditions agree in relating that Aśoka was for some time a widower before his remarriage with Tīṣṇakṣā or Tīṣṇarakṣhī<sup>7</sup>. According to a notice in the Mahāvamsa the Queen Asandhimittī died when Aśoka had reigned 30 years — if we take the ordinal numbers to stand for the cardinals; otherwise the reckoning will yield 29, a difference not worth speaking of.

<sup>1</sup> Dīpaṇ. VI. 20, f. 24; VII. 27. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa, S. Vibh. I. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Mahāv. p. 25; op. S. Vibh. I. 300. It clearly follows from Dīpaṇ. VII. 17 that the King in the 7th year of his reign became a *ājyāsa dharmā*, i. e. a "pretender to the Faith," which is not the same as saying "a possessor." This is an indirect proof that his conversion occurred in a later period.

<sup>4</sup> Mahāv. p. 28. It is a quite different question what we have to believe of Aśoka's cruelty against the Nīgranthas and Ajivikas at Paṇḍitavardhana, as related Divy. 427. This persecution is laid in the last period of A's reign, and may, therefore, contain a deal of truth.

<sup>5</sup> There cannot be the slightest doubt regarding the purport of the phrase. Any other interpretation is excluded by the fact that *Samgha* is pointedly opposed to *Upāsaka* in the text.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. MV. III. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The former form is used in Kṣemendra's *Avad. K.* IIX. 22; Voy. II. 156, and probably also in Mahāv. p. 134, where for the abstradabra in TURNER'S text we have to read: "*Tīṣṇarāṣṭhā māhātīṣā phayāṣā vīṇāṇīyagā*", i. e. (he) raised to the dignity of Queen the ill-matured Tīṣṇarakṣhī. Her attempt at destroying the Bodhi tree is also described Divy. 397.

We read further on that Asoka remarried 4 or 5 years afterwards. There is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of this notice, for the N. Buddhists have in the main the same tradition. Let us suppose Asoka to have taken the vows when a widower; then the date of the edicts alluded to must lie between the years 30 and 37 of his reign, or more accurately, between 30 and 34. The date of his conversion we cannot deduce with anything like precision, owing to the ambiguity of the word *charuvachara* in the text. At any rate the date assigned to it by the Sinhalese is wrong and perhaps the result of a confusion between the monarch becoming "a pretender to the Faith"<sup>1</sup> and his formal conversion. It may be, too, that the date has been falsified in order to connect the conversion with the story of Mahendra's arrival in Ceylon. Indirectly the untrustworthiness of the Sinhalese statement is exemplified by the fact that Asoka, 18 years after his anointment, was unaware of the existence of Tissa Moggaliputta, though this worthy had been the teacher of his son Mahendra.<sup>2</sup> It is barely possible that the real date of Asoka's formal conversion is 18 years after his Abhisheka or 22 of his reign, the alleged date of the assembly at Pataliputra. Suppose we adopt the interpretation that he had been a lay devotee "more than six years", this will carry us to the year 28 or 29 of his reign. About that period or somewhat later he lost his wife, and became a member of the Order.

On comparing these results with the opinions emitted by BÜHLER<sup>3</sup>, it will appear that we agree with him in referring the edicts in which Asoka gives vent to his zealous feelings, to his last years. We believe also that the figures 256, notwithstanding all objections, are really intended as a date of the Lord's Parinirvāṇa. But we hesitate in attaching to that date any historical value. It represents the particular view of the King, or of the party he favoured; it was not the date adopted by the Buddhist community at large. If such a date had been accepted *universum consensu*, it is unconceivable how the great majority of Buddhists could in course of time have forgotten it. A date, once adopted, right or wrong, remains of force among all sects. There is no instance of the contrary in the history of mankind<sup>4</sup>.

The life and deeds of Asoka have become the subject of a series of N. Buddhist tales<sup>5</sup>, which in few points only show coincidences with the Sinhalese traditions. From a literary point of view these tales are highly remarkable, but the whole series has the character of an historical romance containing bits of genuine history mixed up with a great deal of fiction. It is therefore unsafe to draw inferences from such narratives. Still the traditions in various N. Buddhist works<sup>6</sup> regarding the last days of Asoka's reign, tend to impress us with the belief that the once so powerful monarch, when in his old age he suffered from mental weakness, was checked in his extravagances by his ministers and the Prince Regent, and that already before his death a current of reaction had set in against his protection of Buddhism to the detriment of other communities. It is certain that a few years after his death

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 119, note.

<sup>2</sup> Dipav. VII, 34—35; Mshv. pp. 42—46; S. Vibh. I.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. cit. For the expressions *vāṇija*, *vaṇijā* and *vāṇija* see Max Müller's *Researches* I, 78. *Vāṇija* has been found only in Jain writings; the same remark applies to *vaṇijā* Delhi Ed. III (Jain Prākṛt *Śāstra*), but that does not prove any partiality of the King to Jainism.

<sup>4</sup> Other speculations on the edicts, founded upon mistranslations or preconceived notions, we must leave out of discussion.

<sup>5</sup> Divy. XXVI—XXIX. Cp. Tār. 26—48, and the notices of the Chinese pilgrims *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Tib. L. 310 with Divy. and Tār. quoted above.



his grandson Dasaratha made three grants of crypts to Ājīvika monks<sup>1</sup>, which proves that he was at least no bigoted Buddhist. It is a well ascertained fact, too, that Puṣyamitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty about 180 B. C. showed no predilection for the Śaṅgha; on the contrary his name has been handed down in the annals of the Buddhists as that of a persecutor of their faith.

### 5. PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

During the lifetime of the Buddha he had made converts within the limits of Madhyadeśa and Prāgdeśa. This is, roughly speaking, the outcome of the data furnished by the sacred texts. This condition of things remained stationary until the conversion of Aśoka, which event inaugurated a period of zealous propaganda in distant countries. Considering the full agreement of all Buddhist traditions in this respect, we are convinced of the historical truth of the fact in general. As to the particulars the traditions disagree, and it cannot be denied that the stories of the different missions are interspersed with fables of the most transparent hue.

The most detailed account of the spiritual conquests of Buddhism in the days of Aśoka is the story referring to the conversion of Ceylon<sup>2</sup>. That conversion is ascribed to Mahendra, the son of Aśoka and the pupil of Tissa Moggaliputta. The Buddha, just before his final extinction, had predicted that 236 years later a man, Mahendra by name, would reveal the Faith in Ceylon. Immediately after the assembly at Pāṭaliputra, which was held in that year, Mahendra undertook the glorious task of converting the island. Accompanied by four brethren, one Sālmagana and one laic, he departed from Pāṭaliputra, and travelled to Vedisagiri, where he converted his mother. During his stay in that place, he got a visit from his namesake, the god Indra, who — rather superfluously — exhorted him to preach the Law to the benighted inhabitants of Ceylon. Mahendra flew with his companions through the air, like the king of swans flying in the sky, and alighted on the mountain Missaka, now Mihintale. The king of the island, Devānāmpriya Tissa, happened to be a-hunting, and had a meeting with the apostle, who improved the occasion by preaching the Hatthūpada Sutta, with the result that the king became a convert, along with his attendance of forty thousand men. After performing the same miracle as before, Mahendra with his companions appeared within the precincts of the palace where the princes, princesses &c. were assembled. All of them were soon converted. Meanwhile the crowd of people, anxious to hear the missionaries, had become so numerous that the preaching had to be carried on in the Nandana Park outside the town. The success was immense. At nightfall the King offered to the distinguished guests for a lodging the royal pavilion in the Meghavana Garden. The offer was accepted, and when Devānāmpriya Tissa came the next day to visit the monks, and heard that they were well pleased with their lodgings, he dedicated to the Congregation the Meghavana, which became the site of the Tīssārāma or Mahavihāra.

The monks of the Mahāvihāra, whose annals are the source of our information, have undoubtedly painted the conversion of the island in the brightest colours, and magnified the achievements of Mahendra. Yet we feel not at liberty to denounce the whole story as a fable, the less so because the

<sup>1</sup> CONNINGHAM Corp. Inscr. I, p. 103. Cp. Ind. Ant. XX, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Dipar. XII—XVII; S. Vith. I, 318—348; Mahāc. 83—185; Saṅkha. S. IV.

same tradition was current among the N. Buddhists, with this difference that Mahendra is called a younger brother of Aśoka, and that the conversion is said to have taken place one century after the Parinirvāṇa, quite in keeping with the usual N. chronology<sup>1</sup>. It is exactly the difference between the two versions which points to an historical base underlying the fabric of more or less wilful alterations, some of them of a markedly mythological character. The mythical traits recur in a later N. Buddhist tradition, which otherwise differs in some essentials<sup>2</sup>. All agree that Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon in the days of Aśoka. This fact we consider to be historical.

The Sinhalese, as well as the N. Buddhists ascribe to Maḍhyāntika a signal part in the propaganda. The former say that it was he who conferred the Upasampadā on Mahendra, and that he became the apostle of Gāndhāra. In that country he subdued an enraged Nāga and delivered many from bondage. A later account knows the exact number of Nāgas converted; it is distinctly said that he made also converts amongst human beings<sup>3</sup>. The N. Buddhists, who represent Maḍhyāntika as a pupil of Ānanda, magnify him as the apostle of Kāśmīr, where he curbed the Nāga Hūlunta, and preached the Law, with such an eminent success that fifty years after the Parinirvāṇa the Nāga had erected 500 monasteries<sup>4</sup>. The chronology is sadly disturbed. Another Thera, Majjhima, is said to have converted crowds of Yakkas in the Himālaya<sup>5</sup>. He is called *sama-Himavatācarīya* in a Sāncī inscription.

A third apostle was Mahādeva, who conferred the Pravrajyā on Mahendra. It was he who afterwards delivered many from bondage in the kingdom of Mysore<sup>6</sup>. The name of this worthy is known to the N. Buddhists also, but with them he appears in another light. He is remembered as a great sceptic, a kind of Mephistopheles, who by his destructive criticism caused dissensions in the brotherhood, much to the prejudice of the true Faith. His party was especially powerful in Kāśmīr<sup>7</sup>. The talents of this Mahādeva show a striking resemblance to the prominent qualities of the god Mahādeva, or Śiva, for he had destructive tendencies, and was a master in contemplation, just like Śiva, and knew the Three Piṭakas, like Śiva is Trīvidya. The fable of Mahādeva's pernicious activity may after all have an historical background, viz. the fact that Śivaism has been detrimental to the spread of Buddhism in Kāśmīr.

The Sinhalese mention several other apostles, as Rakkhita, Rakkhita the Great, Dharmarakkhita the Greek, and Dharmarakkhita the Great<sup>8</sup>, the similarity of whose names is apt to move suspicion, albeit we have no right to deny the existence of those persons altogether. Still more suspicious is the duumvirate Sona-Uṭṭara, that went to Suvarṇabhūmi, the Gold-land, and there, after clearing the country from Piśācas, delivered many from bondage<sup>9</sup>. Whether this duumvirate be identical with the Thera Suvottara or simply Uṭṭara, living in the time of Duṭṭha-Gāmanī, is doubtful<sup>10</sup>. It should not be

<sup>1</sup> Voy. I, 198; II, 140; cp. II, 423.

<sup>2</sup> Tār. 44; Tib. L. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Dipav. VIII, 2-3; S. Vibh. I, 315; Bodhic. 113; Mahāv. XII.

<sup>4</sup> Tib. L. 290; 309; Tan. S. 12; Voy. I, 95.

<sup>5</sup> Dipav. VIII, 10; CUNNINGHAM *Bhāṣa* Tope, Pl. XX, No. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Dipav. VII, 25; VIII, 5; S. Vibh. I, 316.

<sup>7</sup> Tār. 51; 293; WASSMANN E. 38; 38; cp. 224.

<sup>8</sup> He who ordained the Yuvarāja Tissa, the younger brother of Aśoka; Mahāv. p. 36; Bodhic. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Dipav. I, c. Curiously enough Sona in Pāṇini means "gold", and *uttara* is "North"; often the Gold country is said to lie in the North.

<sup>10</sup> Dipav. XIX, 6; Mahāv. 172 ff.

objected that there are chronological difficulties in the way, for the Sinhalese chronology knows no difficulties, and besides, the apostles Dhammarakkhita and Rakkhita the Great were likewise present at the consecration of the Mahāsthūpa in the reign of Dutṭha-Gāmanī, something like 150 years after their mission to propagate the Faith.

The dharmvirate Sona and Uttara is unknown to the N. Buddhists, unless we choose to identify Uttara with Dharmottara who founded two sects, the Tīmarasāpiyas and Saṅkrāntikas; a really unique performance<sup>1</sup>. Whether the Arhat Uttara, who is represented as living in the East<sup>2</sup> should be considered to be one and the same person is doubtful.

Such and similar accounts, to be gathered from various sources, have a value of their own, inasmuch as they reflect the state of mind of their framers and upholders; as historical documents they must be handled with the greatest precaution.

## 6. THE PERIOD AFTER AŚOKA DOWN TO KANIṢKA.

In the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Aśoka and the reign of Kaniṣka, Buddhism was steadily on the increase in the North, notwithstanding the little favour it found with the kings of the Śuṅga dynasty. It extended its peaceful conquests beyond the limits of India so far as Bactria and China, whilst in Ceylon it acquired the supremacy which it has retained up to this day amongst the Sinhalese population.

It is impossible to make out to what extent Puṣyamitra, who dethroned the last Maurya, had recourse to violent measures against the Congregation. One Buddhist tradition<sup>3</sup> tells us that the Brahman king Puṣyamitra destroyed by fire many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jalandhara, and killed several learned monks. Another tale, probably older, and certainly fuller of absurdities, contains the notice that the king, wishing to abolish the Law of Buddha, destroyed the Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra, and afterwards killed the monks in the country about Śākala<sup>4</sup>. A third tradition records three persecutions of the Faith between the times of Nāgārjuna and those of Asaṅga, i. e. between ± 150 A. D. and 550 A. D.<sup>5</sup> If this be true, there is no question of persecutions by Puṣyamitra.

Whatever may have been the condition of Buddhism in Madhyadeśa during the second century before our era, it flourished in N. W. India, in the domain of the Bactrian Greeks. The most celebrated of the Greek rulers, the King Menander, or as the Indians called him, Milindra, P. Milinda, seems to have had Buddhist sympathies<sup>6</sup>, and is said to have been converted by the Sthavira Nāgasena. Our only authority for this alleged fact is the *Milinda-Pañha*, in which the date of Menander is fixed at five centuries after the *Parinirvāṇa*. This date, impossible as it is, is no argument against the substantial truth of Menander's conversion. It only proves that the book was composed or remodelled long afterwards.

As to the person of Nāgasena we know very little. In a Tibetan work

<sup>1</sup> WASSILIER B. 41; 42; 113; 118; 150; 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Tan.* 5; 8; 291; 299.

<sup>3</sup> *Tan.* 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Divy.* 434. The Kukkuṭārāma was in ruins when Huen Tsang visited the place; he does not say that it had been destroyed by violence; *Voy.* II, 6.

<sup>5</sup> WASSILIER B. 203.

<sup>6</sup> *Sutra* XI; *Mutercus Reign*, *grecques* p. 208, XXVIII.

he is enumerated among the sixteen apostles who after the disappearance of Kāśyapa were sent out to propagate the Faith<sup>1</sup>. According to another Tibetan account a schism arose in the time of the Śthavira Nāgasena and Manoratha, 63 years before the collection of the sacred writings by the Śthavira Vāsiṣṭha<sup>2</sup>. The chronology is so confused that it is unsafe to deduce from such traditions any historical fact. It may be that the monk Nāga, who caused a dissension leading to the division into four sects, is intended to be identical with Nāgasena, but if so, the obscurity enveloping his person thickens instead of being removed<sup>3</sup>. Certainly the Nāgasena of the *Milinda-Pañha* is mentioned by Vasubandhu<sup>4</sup>.

Wholly apart from the literary documents, and exclusively relying on architectural and epigraphical texts, we arrive at the conclusion that the propaganda in the period from about 200 B. C. and 100 A. D. was successful. The foundation of the oldest Stūpas, as at Sāuchi and Bharhut, may go back to the reign of Aśoka, the numerous donations of pious believers, as recorded in the inscriptions, bear the stamp of a somewhat later period. The production of Buddha images, so unmistakably betraying the influence of Greek art, must have begun somewhere in the same interval<sup>5</sup>.

The time of fruitful propaganda was also one that was ripe in dissensions and schisms. The number of sects steadily increased, and before Kaṇiṣka the 18 sects of old Buddhists, the sects recognised as such in the N. and the S., had assumed their definite shape. It is moreover probable that the ideas and tendencies which led to the development of Mahāyānism in the second century of our era were slowly gaining ground already before the Council in the reign of Kaṇiṣka.

The progress of the Faith in Ceylon continued almost undisturbed. Devānāmpriya Tiṣṣa, in whose reign Buddhism was introduced, reigned 40 years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Utiya. Regarding the subsequent rulers there is no agreement in our sources<sup>6</sup>. The sum total of years which elapsed between the death of D. Tiṣṣa and the accession of Abhiya Duṭṭha-Gāmanī is given as 96 (or 106). If we accept the statement of the chronicles that D. Tiṣṣa ascended the throne 235 Nirv. B it follows that Duṭṭha-Gāmanī began to reign 372 (or 362) Nirv. B. Another source<sup>7</sup> has 376. By applying the correction based upon the true, approximate date of Aśoka, we get for the commencement of Duṭṭha-Gāmanī's reign 110 B. C. or thereabouts.

This ruler was a splendid patron of the Saṅgha. He erected Stūpas, monasteries and the tower Lohaprāsāda<sup>8</sup>; he is said to have built the Mahāvihāra, though the same authorities affirm the same of Tiṣṣa, while they repeat the building of the Lohaprāsāda twice over, in the reign of the later rulers Saddhā-Tiṣṣa and Śrī-Nāga<sup>9</sup>. In the crowd of celebrities present at the solemn

<sup>1</sup> Tib. I, 322.

<sup>2</sup> Wassener on Tar. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Tar. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Not by Vasubandhu, as Dunsenoy says, 370 meant; see S. Lévi in CC. RR. de l'Acad. des Ins. of 1893, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> Questions connected with the period of Greek influence and the inscriptions have been treated by SENART, *Notes d'épigraphie indienne*, III; SCHLER, *Ep. Ind.* II, 87; II, 366; *Ind. Ant.* XX, 394; V. SMITH, *ib.* XXI, 166; JANSZ, of 1892, 52; WERNER, *die Griechen in Indien*; S. LÉVI, *Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs*, in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* XXIII, 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Dipav.* XVII, 93 ff.; XVIII, 1-32; *Mahāv.* pp. 155 ff. Differently in *Saddh.* S. p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> *Saddh.* S. I, c.

<sup>8</sup> *Dipav.* XIX.

<sup>9</sup> *Dipav.* XX, 4; 22; 36. We omit speaking of the repairs.

foundation of the Mahāsthūpa we meet the Buddha, the Law and the Saṅgha, as well as the apostles Mahādeva, Dhammarakkhita and Uttara, who 130 years before had been sent out by "far-seeing Moggaliputta".

In the reign of Abhaya Vattaḡāmani, the reputed founder of the Abhayagiri monastery, the canonical texts were reduced to writing. This event, falling somewhere in the last century B. C.<sup>1</sup> is thus described in the oldest chronicle: "Before this time, the wise monks had orally handed down the text of the Tipiṭaka and also the Aṭṭhakathā. At this time the monks, perceiving the decay of beings, assembled and in order that the Law might endure for a long time, they caused the Law to be written down in books." Nothing is said of dissensions between the monks of Mahāvihāra and those of Abhayagiri as being the motive for this decision, and as having occasioned the Dharmarucika schism, as we read in later works.<sup>2</sup> The silence in the oldest chronicle might not be interpreted as a decisive proof against the trustworthiness of the later sources, were it not that the history of the quarrel is likewise absent from the memorial verses cited in one of those works and that the Sāsanaṃamsa<sup>3</sup> gives another account. However that may be, the only question which has now to detain us, is whether it be true that the sacred lore was for the first time reduced to writing in the reign of Vattaḡāmani. Since we have no evidence or indication of the contrary, it would be unjustified to withhold our assent to a tradition which is older at all events than the Dīpavamsa. The enumeration of Dharmaparyāyas in the rescript of Aśoka to the Saṅgha may be adduced as a proof for the existence of separate parts of the sacred lore; it affords no certain indication that those compositions were written books. Therefore we take the statements of the monks of Mahāvihāra to be not wholly unfounded. On the other hand it cannot be denied that the whole account in the younger sources shows a marked tendency to represent the canon adopted by the Mahāvihārians as authentic against the view of the Abhayagirians or Dharmarucikas, who impugned the genuineness of the Paṭivāra. Further it would seem that the Aṭṭhakathā stood in need of legitimization. That commentary — so the tale goes — was composed by Mahendra in the Sinhalese language<sup>4</sup> and in the 5th century of our era translated by Buddhagosa. We had already occasion to remark that the translator quotes the Dīpavamsa by name, so that the whole of the Aṭṭhakathā cannot date from so olden times, unless the translator have taken the liberty to supply his version from various sources.

Among the successors of Vattaḡāmani several kings are recorded as benefactors of the Congregation. The most meritorious of all was Vasabha, who reigned at the end of the first century of our era. He constructed Stūpas, a Vihāra, an Upasatha hall, repaired dilapidated Ārāmas, held 44 times the Vaiśākha festival, was, in short, a king renowned for his pious acts<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more precise can be said. The interval of time between D. Gāmini and Vattaḡāmani's second reign is  $\pm 74$  years; this carries us to  $\pm 40$  B.C., if we reckon from Aśoka, not if we wish to follow the Sinhalese initial date. The event alluded to is fixed Saddh. S. p. 49 at 455 Nirv. B. Cp. Dipav. XX; BRANDERT II, 141; MAYER's Recherches I, 231. — The Gāmini Abaya, mentioned Inscri. in Ceylon Nos. 1—3, seems to be Vattaḡāmani Abhaya, whose son was Mahāceli Mahānisa, Dipav. XX, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāv. pp. 207 ff.; Saddh. S. p. 48. The Dharmarucikas are not mentioned in Kathav. P. A.

<sup>3</sup> The text is adduced by MAYER I. c.

<sup>4</sup> Mahāv. pp. 250 ff.; Saddh. S. 32 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. the inscription of this king in Dr. MÜLLER's Inscr. in Ceylon No. 7.

## 7. KANIṢKA. COUNCIL AT JĀLANDHARA. RISE AND GROWTH OF MAHĀYĀNISM. SCHISMS IN CEYLON.

The reign of the Indo-Scythian king Kaniska, or Kanīṣki, as the name is written on his coins, marks in more than one respect an epoch in the history of India. This conqueror of Śaka or Turāṣka race, from whom the Śaka era dates<sup>1</sup>, extended his sway over a wide tract of country comprising Kabul, Gāndhāra, Sindh, N.W. India, Kashmir and part of Madhyadeśa. The N. Buddhists, who cherish his memory almost as much as Aśoka's, have a tradition that the mighty monarch was at first no adherent of their creed; they ascribe his conversion to the instrumentality of the reverend Sudāsaṇa<sup>2</sup>. As a matter of fact the great majority of Kaniska's coins shows emblems of an Iranian religion, and only comparatively few coins of his have been discovered with Buddhist symbols. We have no single indication of the probable date of his conversion, but we shall hardly go far amiss if we assume as the approximate date of the Council held under his patronage A. D. 100. The place of the assembly was, according to one authority, the monastery of Kuvana near Jālandhara; others say that the Council met in the Vihāra at Kṛndalavana in Kashmir<sup>3</sup>.

As to the proceedings at the Council the traditions are more or less at variance, and moreover very vague. Minute details are treated with diffuse loquacity, matters of importance are shared over. The gist of one Tibetan record<sup>4</sup> comes to this: the dissensions which had been raging in the brotherhood for upwards of a century were ended at this Third Council; the 18 sects were all of them acknowledged as preserving the genuine doctrine; the Vinaya was put into writing; likewise those parts of the Sūtras and the Abhidharma which had not yet been written down, whereas such parts as already existed in writing were expurged. Albeit at that time some Mahāyānist writings had made their appearance, the Śrāvakas, i. e. the old Buddhists, did not deem it necessary or advisable to stir up an opposition against the tendencies of the rising party.

Another Tibetan source<sup>5</sup> contains the notice that 500 Arhats under Pīrva, and 500 Bodhisattvas under Vasumitra, held the Third Council with the purpose to collect the canonical books. The information to be gathered from Huen T'sang<sup>6</sup> is hardly more satisfactory notwithstanding its being fuller. According to his narrative, probably based upon hearsay, it was Kaniska himself who, anxious to make an end to the dissensions in the Church, consulted the venerable Pīrva or Pārivika, and upon the advice of this worthy decided to convoke a Council in which the sacred books should be commented according to the opinion of all sects. The King built a monastery where the monks, to the number of 500, held an assembly under the presidency of Vasumitra. The assembly began with drawing up a commentary on the Sūtra-Pitaka, of 100,000 Ślokas; further the Vinaya-Vibhāṣā, a commentary on the Vinaya, of as many Ślokas; finally the Abhidharma-Vibhāṣā, containing the same number of Ślokas.

<sup>1</sup> N. Buddhist records fix Kaniska's accession to the throne — or his birth — at 400 years after the Parinirvāṇa; Voy. II, 172; Tib. I, 310.

<sup>2</sup> Tār. 38; Tib. I, 310; cp. Rec. 34; Voy. II, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Tār. 39; 298; Tib. I, 310.

<sup>4</sup> Tār. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Tib. I, 310.

<sup>6</sup> Voy. II, 172—178; cp. I, 95.



If this account were exact, the proceedings of the Council would have been limited to the composition of commentaries contenting everybody. This is highly improbable, and it is much more likely that somehow an agreement, a *modus vivendi*, was hit upon on the base of the principal truths unassailed by any of the 18 sects. On external and internal grounds we may draw the inference that the Council was only attended by the Śrāvakas or Hinayanists, or at least that the opinions of the Mahāyānists, if represented at all, found no support. It is not improbable that the text of the sacred books underwent a revision, and it is not impossible that some parts of the canon were then written down for the first time, but it sounds strange that the whole of the Sūtra-Piṭaka and of the Vinaya up to that date only existed orally, whereas some books of the Abhidharma are said to have been already extant in written form. All accounts are silent on the idiom of the sacred texts approved or revised at the Third Council, but from that silence we must infer that the Chinese pilgrim had no notion of a canon that was written in another language but Sanskrit. It is an untoward circumstance that all the works of the old canon, the Tripitaka in the proper acceptation of the term, so far as they have been preserved, are only known through translations or sanskritized texts.

If many points touching the Third Council remain in the dark, one fact may be asserted with confidence, to wit, that the Sinhalese branch of the Church kept apart from the Council, the authority of which is acknowledged by all N. Buddhists, the Mahāyānists not excluded. It can scarcely be matter of doubt that the subdivisions of the Śthavira-vāda were represented in the assembly as well as the less orthodox sects. Adherents of the Śthavira sect occur in India long afterwards<sup>1</sup>, but we are not sure that these Śthaviras identified their sect with the Sinhalese Vibhajjavādins, who claimed to be the pure and genuine Śthaviravādins.

The most significant trait of the Third Council is that it closed a period of old quarrels between the sects; it did not prevent the rise of new aspirations. Mahāyānism, which in an incipient state was already existing, ere-long boldly raised its head. Buddhist authors explain this fact in a semi-historical way by relating that the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika system, was born at the time of the Third Council, and became the greatest promoter of Mahāyānism. He was a pupil of the Brahman Kāśhala-bhādra, who himself was a Mahāyānist. This Brahman was much indebted to the Sage Kṛṣṇa, and still more to Gaṇeśa<sup>2</sup>. This quasi-historical notice, reduced to its less allegorical expression, means that Mahāyānism is much indebted to the Bhagavad-Gītā<sup>3</sup>, and more even to Śaivism. One tradition assigns to Nāgārjuna a life of 60 years, when he died and went to the heaven Sukhāvatī<sup>4</sup>. Another gives him 100 years, whilst a wholly fabulous tradition ascribes to him a life of more than five centuries<sup>5</sup>. Hsuen Tsang calls him one of the four lights of the world, along with Deva, Kumāratāḍha and Āśvaghoṣa. Considering that the Rājatarāṅgī represents Nāgārjuna as having

<sup>1</sup> E. g. in Kaddāgi; Voy. I, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Tat. 66; 69; 103; cp. 61; Tib. L. 310.

<sup>3</sup> The Lotus is full of unbuddhist notions allied with, if not directly taken from the Bhagavad-Gītā; e. g. Lot. XXV, vs. 6; 10; 20; cp. Bh. IV, 6; IX, 17; XI, 43; XII, 7. Buddha is *svamī* for all beings, Lot. V; cp. Bh. IX, 29; XII, 13; Śākyamuni's far-reaching tongue, Lot. XX; cp. Bh. XI, 30. Cp. SBH. XXI, pp. XXXI and XXXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Tib. L. 310. Sukhāvatī is the heaven of the Buddha Amitābha. Nāgārjuna, being a Bodhisattva, could not reach Nirvāṇa, this being only reserved for Arhats and Buddhas. He is mentioned in a Jaggayrapeta inser. in Arch. Surv. S. India. III, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> WASSMANN B. 318; Tat. 73.

flourished immediately after the Turuṣka kings, we may hold that Nāgārjuna lived about the middle or in the latter half of the second century<sup>1</sup>. If Ārya-Deva, originary from Ceylon, and represented as a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna, be identical with the Thera Deva, living in the beginning of the 3d century<sup>2</sup>, the view here proposed would find a support in a work composed at a time not very far removed from the date of Deva.

Apart from Deva being distinctly said to be a native of Ceylon, there is another circumstance which is apt to strengthen the belief that the Thera is identical with Deva, the rival of Nāgārjuna. We are told that Deva after a protracted discussion with the somewhat older Nāgārjuna, put the latter to *terminos non loqui*. Now how could the great Mahāyānist be defeated otherwise than by an adherent of the old faith, a Śālvaka<sup>3</sup>?

The figure of Nāgārjuna, so prominent in the history of the rise of Mahāyānism, shows a double character. It is, on one side, the name of an influential person, the first eminent leader of a school imbued with Hinduism and the methods of Indian scholastic philosophy. On the other hand Nāgārjuna is simply a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahāyānism in the first phase of its onward course.

The activity of the rising party is exemplified, first of all, by a long series of new canonical books, many of them very voluminous. Not a few elements of the Mahāyānist scriptures are taken bodily from the Tripiṭaka, with such omissions and additions as deemed necessary. It cannot be said that the framers of the new canon have falsified the ancient sacred lore, nor that they have repudiated the old formulas of Buddhism, but by their interpretations and additions they have darkened the truths revealed by the Buddha. When the conservative Hinayānists denounce their opponents as having set up another ideal of life, as having lowered the Arhats and extolled the Bodhisattvas, as being unorthodox in their Buddhology, they are, from their standpoint, perfectly right. It is true that the Mahāyānists despise the placid egoism, concealed under fine phrases, of the passionless Arhat, and find their ideal in the active compassion of the Bodhisattva for the weal of all fellow creatures. It is true that their Śākyamuni does not answer to the type as fixed by the orthodox sects.

Some charges<sup>4</sup> brought against the Mahāyānists are exaggerated or debatable. If the followers of the Mahāyāna are blamed on account of their axiom *sarvaśaṃśaya*, they might easily retort by saying that this is the very essence of Buddhism, and that their opponents had become unfaithful to the letter and the spirit of the old Law. As to their Buddhology, it is no invention of theirs; the Hinayānists themselves ascribe to Śākyamuni a supernatural character, and among the old texts the Mahāśāṅghikas entertained views agreeing with the Mahāyāna<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The lives of Nāgārjuna, Ārya-Deva and Ariyaratne are said to have been translated into Chinese A. D. 387—418; WASSILIER B. 210. Cf. WARDELL, Buddh. of Tib. II.

<sup>2</sup> Dīpa. XXII; Mahāv. pp. 255 ff. — Tib. I. 310; Tan. 83; Voy. I, 186, II, 432; 435. It cannot be true that Deva, or at least this Deva, was rector at Nālandā in the reign of the Gupta Candragupta. Cf. DEAR, The Age of Nāgārjuna, Ind. Ant. XV, 353.

<sup>3</sup> Voy. I, 186, ff. The form in which the story is put seems to be a device to conceal the importance of the defeat suffered by Mahāyānism from orthodoxy.

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller account see WASSILIER B. 263 ff. Cf. ROCKHILL, op. c. 196—200. The Mahāyānists distinguish in the essence of the Buddha three bodies: the Dharmakāya, the Sambhoga-kāya, and the Nirmāṇakāya. These are the three modes in which the universal essence manifests itself; WASSILIER B. 127; DEAR, Cat. 174. Among the Hinayānists the Sautrāntikas recognized the Dharmakāya and the Sambhoga-kāya.

<sup>5</sup> WARDELL, Buddh. of Tib. so characterizes Mahāyānism as a theistic doctrine

Mahāyānism lays a great stress on devotion, in this respect as in many others harmonising with the current of feeling in India which led to the growing importance of *bhakti*<sup>1</sup>. It is by that feeling of fervent devotion, combined with the preaching of active compassion that the creed has enlisted the sympathy of numerous millions of people and has become a factor in the history of mankind of much greater importance than orthodox Buddhism. It is by its more progressive spirit that it has succeeded finally to absorb all the old sects, barring the S. Buddhists.

This triumph, however, was not achieved without a struggle of some centuries. Both parties fought with weapons borrowed from the arsenal of Brahmanist dialectics, for the Hinayānists, conservative as they were, could not but get the conviction that they had no chance unless their philosophical training equalled that of their opponents. Before sketching the character of the four philosophical schools in which the struggle for supremacy was concentrated, and enumerating the chief actors on the scene, we will look at the state of things in Ceylon.

The Church of Ceylon kept apart from the Council at Jālandhara; even the name of Kaniska does not occur in its annals. Thus it would seem that the separation of the two divisions of Buddhism had become a fact in the first century of our era.

After the death of Vasabhu, A. D. 110, no remarkable events are recorded during a century, but in the reign of Tissa, who ascended the throne A. D. 209 or 217, we hear of new heretical doctrines proclaimed by some monks<sup>2</sup>. That heresy, known by the name of *Vetullavāda*<sup>3</sup> or *Vitavādvāda*, was soon subdued by the King, who in other respects, too, was well disposed towards the Congregation, as he proved by his bounties. It was in his reign that the Thera Deva, whom we have had occasion to mention, was living.

In the middle of the third century, during the reign of Abhaya, surnamed Meghavanna or Gopbaka, new dissensions arose between the monks of Mahāvihāra and those of Abhayagiri, which led to the Sāgalika schism. The Sāgalika schismatics declared the two Vibhaṅgas of the Vinaya to be apocryphal, and got the upperhand in the monastery of Jetavana, which was founded by the King Mahāsena A. D. 290 and finished by his son sometime after A. D. 302. Such is the gist of one record; other sources are somewhat at variance<sup>4</sup>. The *Dīpav.*, that ends with the death of Mahāsena A. D. 302, only intimates that the Mahāvihāriyas had hard times in the reign of Mahāsena. Shameless persons, foremost among whom were Dummitta — a nickname of Saṅghamitta — and the wicked Soṇa, misled the monarch, and taught many unlawful things, like — *horribile dictu* — the use of ivory fans, to be allowable. The younger chronicle expatiates more in detail on the

<sup>1</sup> which substituted for the agnostic idealism and simple morality of Buddha, a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background.<sup>2</sup> It would, perhaps, be more accurate to say that it is a pantheistic doctrine with a theistic tinge, in which the Buddha takes the place of the personified masculine *brahman* of the Vedānta.

<sup>2</sup> A good specimen of that devotional split is found in *Bodhicary.* Ch. II (Zapiski IV, 158—160).

<sup>3</sup> *Dīpav.* XXII, 43; *Mahāv.* pp. 227; 245 ff. Cp. LARSEN, *Ind. Ant.* II, 1002; IV, 279 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The chief heresy of the *Vetullayakas* consisted in their assertion: 1, that the Lord is a supernatural being, dwelling in the Tāvāra heaven; 2, that the Dharma was not preached on earth by him, but by Ananda, who was made and deputed by him for the purpose; *Kathav.* It. A. 171; other tenets of theirs mentioned 168 ff.

<sup>5</sup> TURNOUR *Inte. Mahāv.* CI; *Mahāv.* p. 231; *Dīpav.* XXII, 66—75. Cp. OLDENBERG *JPTS.* of 1882, p. 114, where the text of the *Tika* on *Mahāv.* is given.

actions of Soua and Saṅghamitta. It was by their instigation that the Mahāvihāra was destroyed. The monastery of Abhayagiri, on the contrary, rose in splendour, much to the detriment of the Mahāvihāra, which is said to have been reconstructed in the last years of Mahāsena, but at the same time he founded the Jetavana monastery whose inhabitants, so bitterly hostile to the Mahāvihāra, formed a new schismatic sect<sup>1</sup>. The conduct of Mahāsena is incomprehensible, and obviously misrepresented in the biased annals of the Mahāvihāra monks, so that we cannot accept those tales but with the utmost reserve.

In the reign of Mahāsena's son Meghavappa, A. D. 309, the famous tooth relic was brought to Ceylon. Both Meghavanna and his successors reigning in the fourth cent. are described as benefactors of the Mahāvihāra. That may be true, but from the testimony of Fa Hian, who visited the island ± A. D. 410, we know that in his days the Abhayagiri monastery with its 5000 inmates and by its splendour ranked higher than the Mahāvihāra with its 3000 monks<sup>2</sup>. We moreover owe to the same traveller the notice that there were in Ceylon adherents of the Mahīśāsaka sect, for he succeeded in obtaining a copy<sup>3</sup> of their version of the Dīrghagama, Samyuktīgama and Samyuktasāhicaya-Piṭaka(?). The complete silence of the Mahāvihāra annals about this semi-orthodox sect in Ceylon cannot be accidental; they must have had reason to conceal the fact; what that reason was, is difficult to guess.

It was in the reign of Mahānāma, A. D. 410—432, that Fa Hian visited Ceylon, and that Buddhaghosa came from India to the island. The wonderful achievements of this most celebrated of S. Buddhist authors, his translation of the Aṅgahakathā, and his composing the comprehensive Visuddhi-Magga, were such that the Sinhalese monks hailed him as Maitreya in own person<sup>4</sup>. On having completed his work in Ceylon he returned to India or, according to others, went to Burma to propagate the Faith.

The history of the Sinhalese Church, such as we find it in the partial annals of the Mahāvihāra, is made up of donations to the Saṅgha, of embellishments of sacred buildings, of the setting up of statues and the like, now and then of the renewal of petty quarrels. The King Dhātusena, A. D. 459—477, acquired merits by his pious works, and by his suppressing the Dharmarucika heresy which had revived in the monastery of Cetiyagiri<sup>5</sup>. In the following century, A. D. 545 or thereabouts, the old Vetulla heresy found promoters among the monks of Abhayagiri, but the King Silakala speedily put an end to it<sup>6</sup>. The reign of Agraboulbi, in the beginning of the seventh cent., was marked by an attempt of two monks from the Jetavana monastery to stir up new dissensions by denouncing the Mahāvihāravāsins as falsifiers of

<sup>1</sup> The Mahāvihāravāsins, Abhayagīrivāsins, and Jetavantras are the three Ceylonese sects commonly recognized; see above p. 111, and cp. BIGANDET II, 144. A fourth schism is said to have occurred A. D. 601; TURNER Intr. CH.

<sup>2</sup> Rec. 102; 107.

<sup>3</sup> Rec. 111.

<sup>4</sup> His history with the usual embellishments is told Mahāv. pp. 205 ff.; Saddh. S. p. 52. Cp. BIGANDET II, 145; LASSER Ind. Alt. IV, 372; FOUKES, Buddhaghosa, Ind. Ant. XIX, 103 E. MISRAVE Recherches I, 189, E. and the text from the Sāmanv. p. 208. In the last named source Buddhaghosa has become the translator of the whole Tipiṭaka into Pali!

<sup>5</sup> The two Buddh-Gayā inscriptions of the Sihavira Mahāsammāsa (Corps. Inscr. III, Nos. 71 and 72) have given rise to the question whether this Sihavira be identical with the author of the Mahāv., the uncle of Dhātusena. The date 269 is referred by FLEET to the Gupta era, the result being A. D. 528. The identification seems highly problematic. See FLEET op. c. p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> Nothing of this occurs Mahāv. XLI.

the canon. By recording their own version of the Nikāyas in a form to give it the appearance of antiquity they imposed upon the people<sup>1</sup>. This schism it seems to have been of no consequence, for it is not made mention of in other sources<sup>2</sup>.

The annals of the Mahāvihāra afford us an insight into the permanent state of rivalry between the inmates of certain monasteries; they give us no insight into the feelings of the Buddhists of the island at large. The information gathered by Huen Tsiang, however scanty, is not entirely to be disregarded. He had heard that the Mahāvihāravāsins were strict Hinayānists, whereas the Abhayagiri-vāsins studied both the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna<sup>3</sup>. There are indications in the record of Fa Hien that the Abhayagiri-vāsins were very partial to a pompous mode of worship, and this agrees so well with the ritualistic tendencies of the Mahāyāna that the reports which had reached the younger traveller do not seem to be wholly unfounded. Yet he adds that both sects belonged to the Śhāviras.

#### 8. THE FOUR PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS. MAHĀYĀNA IN THE ASCENDENCY. DECLINE OF THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

When the last named Chinese pilgrim stayed in India, the four philosophical schools of the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas, Yogācāras, and Mādhyamikas had already reached their full development. The former two clung to the Hinayāna party; the latter two supported the tendencies of the Mahāyāna.

The Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas may be qualified as realists<sup>4</sup>, acknowledging the real existence of the phenomenal world, but whilst the former acknowledge the direct perception of exterior objects, the latter hold that exterior objects merely exist as images, and thus are indirectly apprehended. The Vaibhāṣikas reject the authority of the Sūtras altogether, only acknowledging that of the Abhidharma. In their dogmatical system Śākyamuni is a common human being, who after attaining the qualified Nirvāna by his Buddhahood, and final Nirvāna by his death, passed into Nothingness. What may be called divine in the Buddha, is his intuitive knowledge of the truth without the aid of others.

The Sautrāntikas, in their turn, deny all authority to the Abhidharma, and keep to the Sūtras. Their Buddha is that of Scripture, possessed of the ten Powers (Daśakṛiā), the four Vāśīrādyas, the three Smṛtyupasthānas, and of all pervading compassion. They ascribe to him a Dharmakāya and a Saṃbhogakāya.

The Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas, the supporters of Mahāyānism, are idealists. The former deny the real existence of all except *vijñāna*, consciousness, and are therefore often designed as Vijñānavādins. The Mādhyamikas are complete nihilists<sup>5</sup>. Their system is the legitimate logical outcome of the principles underlying ancient Buddhism, and in so far they are entitled to the glory of being more orthodox than the Orthodox. In their nihilism, the Buddhist counterpart, or rather adaptation of the scholastic Vedānta, of the theory of *Nirue-and-Form*, in its extreme interpretation<sup>6</sup>, they teach that the

<sup>1</sup> TERNER *Int.* CII.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāv. XI. II, 35 only contains the notice that a Thera, named Jotipāla, defeated the Vessālivādins.

<sup>3</sup> Voy. III, 141.

<sup>4</sup> WASSILIEF II, 276—286; Śālikara on Brahma-S. II, 2, 18 ff. Sarvad. Saig. 9—24; BURNOUT *Int.* 447 ff.

<sup>5</sup> WASSILIEF II, 288; 300; Śālikara l. c.; Sarvad. Saig. 22; 24; BURNOUT l. c.

<sup>6</sup> The interpretation combated by Vijñāna Bhikṣu on Śālikara-Pravacana I, 22.

whole of the phenomenal world is a mere illusion. Like the scholastic Vedāntins they recognize two kinds of truth, the Paramārtha and the Saṃvṛti, answering to the Paramārthika and the Vyāvahārika of the Vedānta<sup>1</sup>. The second kind of truth is, properly speaking, no truth at all, for it is the produce of Reason (*buddhi*), and truth lies outside the domain of Reason; Reason is Saṃvṛti. Hence, in fact, all is delusion, dream-like. There *is* no existence, there *is* no cessation of being; there *is* no birth, there *is* no Nirvāṇa; there is no difference between those who have attained Nirvāṇa and those who have not. All conditions, in fact, are like dreams<sup>2</sup>.

The Mādhyamikas try to avoid the usual term Māyā, and use instead Prajñā and Upāya, which answer to the Pradhāna and the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhyas, apart from the difference between ideal and real<sup>3</sup>.

It must be observed that morality is not jeopardized by this theoretical nihilism, for the force of illusion is irresistible, and as all distinctions are equally an illusion, the distinction of good and evil, of virtue and vice, remains unaffected<sup>4</sup>. The reasonable objection that if all is illusion, their idea of illusion is as non-existent as all the rest, would fail to trouble those philosophers, because, in their system, the decrees of Reason are not only fallible, but absolutely false.

The reputed founder of the Mādhyamika school is Nāgārjuna<sup>5</sup>, whereas his contemporary Kumāralabdha is said to be the originator of the Santrāntika system<sup>6</sup>. As two other celebrated contemporaries figure Arya-Deva and Aśvaghoṣa. The former we have already met; to the latter many works in prose and verse are ascribed. He is claimed by the Mahāyānists as one of their party<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the stanzas from Nāgārjuna's Mūlamādhyamika quoted by MISENER Recherches I, 226. On this and other works ascribed to Nāgārjuna see WASSILIEFF in Tar. 302.

<sup>2</sup> All this is forcibly expressed by Śāntideva, Bodhicaryā, IX, 2 and 150, 151:

Saṃvṛti paramārthaś ca saṃvṛtītyam idam matam,  
buddher agorasāḥ saṃvṛtiḥ buddhiśa saṃvṛtiḥ saṃvṛtiḥ.  
Evam na ca nirvāṇa 'eti na ca bhūta 'iti saṃvṛtiḥ,  
nirvāṇa nirvāṇam ca bhūtaḥ sarvam idam jagat.  
Aśvaghosamāśa ca gāthāḥ nīlīre bodhisattvāḥ,  
saṃvṛtītyānīre ca nīlīre nīlīre matam.

The poet is reckoned among the Mādhyamikas WASSILIEFF R. 326, but he occurs also as an authority of the Yogacāra; 314.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. HOPKINS Ess. 72; 78; 80; 104. The origin of these queer terms is not to be solved by etymology; both seem to be comendrams for *māyā*. *Prajñā* in the sense of "reasoning", and *upāya* in that of "a trick" coincide with one of the meanings of *māyā*. The distinction between Prajñā and Upāya is conventional. Another explanation would be that Prajñā — Mūla-prakṛti, answers to the *Ēvev* of Gnosticism, "in which", to use the words of MILL in JASS. of 1835, p. 386, "vōlē, intellect, *buddhi*, — is the first-born offspring".

<sup>4</sup> In the highest truth there is, of course, no good nor evil. This is expressed by Śāntideva in the following phrases:

māyāparyagatīdame dharmaḥ na pāpakaṃ,  
śiva mīrāṇam na paṇḍitānāmānām.

Zapiski IV, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> It is doubtful whether any of the existing works ascribed to Nāgārjuna be genuine. The Saṃdīpikā has been translated by WENZEL from Tibetan, JPTS. of 1886. Cp. BEAL, On the Saṃdīpikā, Ind. Ant. XVI, 169. According to Śāntideva, Bodhicaryā, V, 106 N. was the author of the Sūtrasamuccaya. It is proved by his testimony that the Tib. record ascribing the Sūtrasamuccaya and the Nīkāsamuccaya to Śāntideva (WASSILIEFF R. 308) is wrong.

<sup>6</sup> Voy. I, 89; II, 154.

<sup>7</sup> Tar. distinguishes two Aśvaghōṣas, one of them being confounded with Śūra, and bearing no less than 11 names, a suspicious coincidence with the 11 Rātras; 904 216; 297; 300; 366; 311 R. WASSILIEFF R. 211 calls him a pupil of Pārśva, which would make him somewhat older than Nāgārjuna. Cp. MAX MÜLLER, India 312. A younger namesake occurs Tar. 102.



As a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna and Deva, and their successor at the college of Nālandā, we find somewhere mentioned a certain Nāgāhvaya, otherwise named Tathāgatabhadra<sup>1</sup>. As Fa Hian does not speak of the college at Nālandā<sup>2</sup>, though he visited the village, the story deserves no credit. It is more likely that Nāgāhvaya is synonymous with Nāgārjuna<sup>3</sup>.

The school of the *Vaiśbhāṣikas* was illustrated by the Bhadanta<sup>4</sup>, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Buddhadeva, and Vasumitra. The first is said to have been the pupil of Ārya-Deva; if this be true, he must have flourished in the first half of the third cent. To him is ascribed the *Mahā-Vibhāṣā*. He is also the reputed compiler of the *Uddānavarga*, and the author of a *Samyuktābhidharma-śāstra*<sup>5</sup>. Of Ghoṣaka and Buddhadeva little is known<sup>6</sup>. Vasumitra, flourishing in the reign of the son of Kaniska, is expressly distinguished from the older Vasumitra, the president of the Third Council, as well as from a younger namesake living in the 6th or 7th century, a disciple of Guṇamaṇi<sup>7</sup>. As pupils of Ārya-Deva are recorded Sūra and Śāntideva. If the notice refers to the two poets whose works are known, they must have lived in the third century. Their comparatively correct Sanskrit renders this very problematical.

With regard to the condition and the peculiarities of the two great parties about A. D. 400 we possess precious indications in Fa Hian's records. Speaking of Mālharā he notices, as we have seen, that the *Abhidharma* and the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* are worshipped by the professors of the *Abhidharma* and the *Vinaya*, severally<sup>8</sup>; the *Prajñā-Pāramitā*, Mañjuśrī and *Avalokiteśvara* by the *Mahāyānists*. When the traveller stayed in Pālaliṣputra one of the two monasteries of that city belonged to the *Hinayānists*, the other, a very grand and beautiful building, to their rivals; the two together containing from six to seven hundred monks. While residing in the *Mahāyāna* monastery he found a copy of the *Vinaya* in the *Mahāsāṅghika* redaction, which is "the most complete" among the versions of the 18 sects. So he was told of course by the *Mahāyānists*, who in many respects betray a close affinity to the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. Yet the *Mahāyānists* of the monastery studied also texts appertaining to other sects, for the pilgrim got from them a transcript of the *Sarvāstivāda* rules, those which were observed by the monks in China. He obtained, moreover, the *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya*, one chapter of the *Parinirvāṇa-Vaipulya-sūtra*, and the *Abhidharma* of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*.

In the sixth century Buddhist scholastic philosophy reached its apogee. The two most illustrious names in that period are Ārya Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, two brothers, from Gāndhāra.

Asaṅga, the great master of the *Yogācāra*, was originally an adherent of the semi-orthodox *Mahāśākas*, but became in course of time a convert to the *Mahāyāna*. He lived for a long time in a monastery near Oudh, and

<sup>1</sup> WASSILIEFF B. 202; cp. Tār. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Vyu. § 177; the two names follow one another. A dalijus Nāghodhi in Tib. I. 310.

<sup>4</sup> On the title Bhadanta see BERNIERI Intr. 367.

<sup>5</sup> Tib. I. 310; Tār. 67; 297; WASSILIEFF B. 50; 270; Voy. II, 105; 119; Vyu. § 117; BERNIERI Intr. 366; ROCKIMBA, *Uddānavarga*, Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Tār. 41; 61; 67; WASSILIEFF B. 50; 166; 281; BERNIERI Intr. 367. They do not occur Vyu. I. c.

<sup>7</sup> Tār. 60; 68. Cp. MAX MÜLLER, op. c. 305, note. A discussion on the various authors bearing the name of Vasumitra is found in MEYER's *Recherches* I, 196 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The S. Buddhists equally pay honour to the *Sacred Books*, which are literally worshipped. Upon some occasion they are put upon a kind of rude altar, near the road-side, that those who pass by may put money upon it to obtain merit; HARDY E. M. 192.

afterwards in Magadha, where he died in Rājagṛha<sup>1</sup>. His chief work is a book on Yoga<sup>2</sup>.

Vasubandhu, Asaṅga's younger brother, received in his youth his lessons from Saṅghabhadra, a learned Hinayanist in Kashmir. From Kashmir he went to Oudh, where he lived for many years. Being at first a staunch adherent of the Sārvāstivādhins<sup>3</sup>, he disapproved of Asaṅga's Yogaśāstra, but afterwards he became a convert to Mahāyānism. After his conversion he is said to have been teacher in the college of Nālandā. He died at an advanced age in Nepāl, or, as others say, in Oudh<sup>4</sup>. The principal work of this most celebrated of Buddhist philosophers is the *Abhidharma-Kośa*. He wrote besides several commentaries on Mahāyāna texts<sup>5</sup>.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were followed by a series of learned authors whose names are little less famous than those of the two great masters. The most prominent among these scholars, partly Hinayanists, partly Mahāyānists, are Dignāga, Guṇaprabha, Śikṛamati, Saṅghadāsa, Buddhadāsa, Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, Jayasena, Candragomin, Candrakīrti, Guṇamati, Vasumitra, Yaśomitra, Bhavya, Buddhapālita, Ravigupta<sup>6</sup>.

Dignāga, from Kāśmīr, a pupil of Asaṅga or Vasubandhu, is known as the author of a treatise on Logic, the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. Being a contemporary of Guṇaprabha, he must have lived from A. D. 500—600 or thereabouts<sup>7</sup>.

Guṇaprabha, to whom a hundred treatises are ascribed, was a native of Pārvata or Mathura, and proceeded from the school of Vasubandhu. He became the Guru of the King Harṣa, and numbered among his pupils Mītrasena, who, a man of 90 years, taught Huen Tsiang. In his youth a Mahāyānist, Guṇaprabha passed in ripier years to the Hinayāna<sup>8</sup>.

Śikṛamati and Saṅghadāsa belong to a younger generation than the two preceding masters. Śikṛamati, who was teacher at Nālandā when Huen Tsiang visited that college, is known as the author of commentaries on the works of Vasubandhu, and of notes on the *Ratnakūṭa*<sup>9</sup>. Saṅghadāsa, a native of S. India, worked chiefly in Kashmir. Nearly contemporaneous with him was Buddhadāsa<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Voy. I, 83; 112; 118; II, 105; 269; Tib. I, 310; Tan. 103; 126; 167. He reached the age of 75 years, and is said to have been 20 years older than Vasubandhu. A pupil of the latter, Guṇaprabha, died before the accession of Harṣa, i. e. before A. D. 610. The approximate date of Asaṅga may be supposed to be A. D. 485—500. Cp. Max Müller op. c. 302—312.

<sup>2</sup> Other writings are noticed Voy. II, cc. Tan. 112.

<sup>3</sup> His teacher, according to Huen Tsiang, was Moggallāna, the author of a *Vibhāṅga-kāśīṭa*, Voy. I, 83; II, 105, 115. BERNOUY Intr. 567 has Mānōnātha; WASSILIEFF B. 219 Moggallāna. MAX MÜLLER op. c. 289; 302. Another teacher of Vasubandhu was Buddhapālita; WASSILIEFF B. 249.

<sup>4</sup> Tan. 118; Voy. II, cc. WASSILIEFF B. 210; 214; 222. A Chinese biography of V., composed, they say, between A. D. 557 and 588, shows so little acquaintance with Indian customs that we disbelieve the statement of its being a translation. Cp. MAX MÜLLER, op. c. 302—312.

<sup>5</sup> WASSILIEFF B. 222; cp. 69; Voy. I, 115; II, 274; BERNOUY Intr. 563; 571; Comm. on *Harṣacarita* p. 490. Cp. MAX MÜLLER, op. c. 308 f.

<sup>6</sup> These and more names of teachers, not all of them Buddhists, are enumerated Voy. I, 177.

<sup>7</sup> Tan. 127; 131; WASSILIEFF B. 78; 206; Tib. I, 310. He was a contemporary of Kalidāsa, according to Mallanātha on *Meḡhadūta*, ca. 14. Cp. MAX MÜLLER op. c. 305—308. D. is often quoted in the *Nyāyabinduṭṭakā*; cp. below p. 131, note.

<sup>8</sup> Tan. 126; 146; Voy. I, 106; cp. 109; WASSILIEFF B. 78. Cp. MAX MÜLLER op. c. 309.

<sup>9</sup> Tan. 127; 129; 135; 137; Voy. III, 46; 164; WASSILIEFF B. 78. Cp. MAX MÜLLER 305; 310, note.

<sup>10</sup> Tan. 104; 127; 135.

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Among the teachers in the Nālandā college in the time of Huen Tsiang is mentioned Dharmapāla of Kāśī. If he be identical with the author of the *Paramattha-Dīpaṇī*, the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* — which is extremely doubtful —, he must have become a convert to Mahāyānism after his arrival in N. India. Tradition says that after he had been a teacher in Nālandā, he went to Suvāradvīpa<sup>1</sup>.

Other celebrities at Nālandā between A. D. 630 and 640 were Śīla-bhadra and the laics Jayasena<sup>2</sup> and Candrarāma-Gomin, whose opponent was Candrakīrti<sup>3</sup>. Further Gaganānī, the author of a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-Kośa*<sup>4</sup> and the master of Vasumitra. This Vasumitra, not to be confounded with his two older namesakes, was the author of the commentary *Abhidharma-Kośa-Vyākhyā*. Possibly he is identical with the realist Vasumitra who about the same time flourished in Kashmir<sup>5</sup>.

Concerning Bhavya or Bhāvarivēka and Buddhapālita, who although being both Mahāyānists were inimical to one another, we must refer to the sources<sup>6</sup>. Ravigupta is known as an adherent of Asaṅga and as a poet<sup>7</sup>.

It is in the sixth and the seventh cent. that Buddhist scholasticism had its palmy days. The contention between the two great parties rather tended to stimulate the literary activity of the schools than to enfeeble the authority of the Church. The old sects, indeed, were fast losing their significance<sup>8</sup>. They continued their separate existence, and kept up some external marks of distinction, but in dogmatics they were either Śrāvakas or Mahāyānists. If the statistics furnished by the Chinese pilgrims are not too inexact, we must conclude that the number of monks was more considerable in the seventh cent. than two hundred years before. On the whole Buddhism was still flourishing when Huen Tsiang visited India. The decline dates, roughly speaking, from A. D. 750.

The latest great champion of Buddhism, Dharmakīrti, is stated by the historians to have been the contemporary of Kumārabhaṭṭa. That can hardly be accurate. The traveller I-tsing, who stayed in India during the last quarter of the 7th century, reckons Dharmakīrti among the recent celebrities, but does not distinctly say that he was still living. On the other hand we can hardly imagine that a celebrity like Dharmakīrti would have been unknown to Huen Tsiang. Hence we draw the inference that Dharmakīrti flourished between the stay of Huen Tsiang in India and I-tsing's, and that he may have been alive, though not necessarily so, in the last quarter of the 7th century, which approaches the date of Kumāra<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Tār. 160; Voy. I, 125; 148; 190; II, 287; 452; III, 46; 112; 119. Cp. MAX MÜLLER op. c. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. I, 144; 152; III, 78. Tār. 205 confounds Harṣa of Kanauj with Śrī-Harṣa of Kashmir. Cp. MAX MÜLLER op. c. 310.

<sup>3</sup> WASSILIEFF II, 52; 207; Tār. 150; Zapiski IV, 29 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Tib. I, 310; Tār. 159; Voy. II, 442; III, 46; 164; BURNOUF Intr. 586.

<sup>5</sup> BURNOUF I, c. Voy. I, 94. Tār. calls him the contemporary of Amara-Siṅha, which is far from accurate. An elucidation of the *Vyākhyā* was written by Vasumitra; BURNOUF op. c. 448; 512; 563; 566; 571; 574; Tib. I, 310; MINAYEF Recherches I, 197.

<sup>6</sup> Tār. 135 ff.; 160; WASSILIEFF II, 207; Voy. III, 112; BURNOUF op. c. 560. Cp. MAX MÜLLER op. c. 304; 311; ROCKHILL, op. c. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Tār. 146; WASSILIEFF II, 207; ROCKHILL, op. c. 228.

<sup>8</sup> The sects mentioned by Huen Tsiang in the course of his records are: Śālistvās, Sarvāstivādins, Sammitīyas, Mahāśāstikas, Kāśyapīyas, Dharmaguttipas, Mahāśāstīkikas, Lokottaravādins; and in Ceylon: Mahāvīharians and Abhayagiriens.

<sup>9</sup> Dharmakīrti's *Naṣṭa-Madhva* may be adduced as proving the esteem which Buddhist learning enjoyed in the 8th century at Ujjayinī.

<sup>10</sup> See MINAYEF Zapiski IV, 31 f. and his references.

<sup>11</sup> MAX MÜLLER op. c. 305 and 308 states that Dharmakīrti is quoted by Subandhu. That is a mistake. Subandhu in *Vasavadattā* p. 235 alludes to the Buddhist work titled

Kumārila and Śaṅkara live in the traditions of the Buddhists as the most formidable enemies to their creed, as the two great dialecticians whose activity caused the ruin of Buddhism in India<sup>1</sup>. Albeit sober history teaches that the Faith has continued in India for more than six centuries after Śaṅkara, there is a grain of truth in those traditions, inasmuch as Buddhism gradually lost ground, became more degraded, and at last died out in the land of its birth.

Our information regarding the external history of N. Buddhism from the second to the eighth century is very fragmentary. Numerous inscriptions dating from Kaniska, and ranging over a period of more than two centuries show that the Faith prospered at Mathurā, though Jainism would seem to have been predominant. From other sources we gather that the Church was in a flourishing condition in Kabul, Kashmir, N. W. India<sup>2</sup>. The epigraphic evidence from Kāśī, Nāśik and Amarāvati proves that the Faith had many fervent devotees in W. and S. India. Some of the inscriptions dating from the time of St-Paulināvi or Puṣpāvi — the Śrī-Ptolemy of Ptolemy —, consequently from the second century, teach us that the sanctuary and monastery of Amarāvati belonged to the Cūṭikas, a subdivision of the Mahāsāṅghikas; the latter possessed the shrine at Kāśī, and the Bhadrīyānīyas a cave in Nāśik<sup>3</sup>.

Fa Hien found Buddhism very flourishing in Udyāna, Pañjāb, Mathurā, and in a satisfactory condition more eastward. He does not mention the college at Nālandā, which in the 7th century was the chief centre of Buddhist learning<sup>4</sup>. The great patron of the Faith in the 7th century was the celebrated Harṣa or Harṣavardhana, surnamed Śāladitya by Huen Tsiang, who describes that king as a fervent Mahāyānist, but tolerant and benevolent towards all sects, the Hinayānists excepted<sup>5</sup>. Now, it cannot be doubted that Harṣa had Buddhist sympathies. As we know from the Harṣacarita, his sister Rājyāśrī, widow of Grahavarman, had become a Buddhist nun<sup>6</sup>. Independently from other information tending to the same effect, the utterances of the Chinese traveller impress us with the conviction that in general the relations between the Buddhists and the various shades of Hinduism were peaceful; bitter enmity only raged between Hinayānists and Mahāyānists. Instances like that of Śaśāṅka, king of Karna-Suvarna, who is stigmatized as hostile to the Faith, are isolated<sup>7</sup>.

In Kashmir, one of the old centres of Buddhist learning, the Church was still powerful in the 7th century during the reign of Durlabhavardhana, though Śaivism was increasing<sup>8</sup>. Instances of liberality shown by one and the same person to Buddhists and to Brahmaṇists were frequent. As to

Nāśikā, but he does not say that the author is Dharmakīrti. It is the commentator who ascribes the *Alaṅkāra* to Dharmakīrti. Another work the *Nyāyabāṇa*, which has been edited by Dr. Prinson, with the *Tikā*, is ascribed to Dharmakīrti by K. H. Papant in his paper "On the Authorship of the *Nyāyabāṇa*" (JHE. RAS. XIX, 47). The author of the *Tikā* is a certain Dharmottara; cp. *Tār.* 330; *Wassilief* II. 290. Another Dharmottara is the one mentioned above p. 118.

<sup>1</sup> *Wassilief* II. 208; *Tār.* 175—201; *Horuson* Ess. 12; 14; 48.

<sup>2</sup> *CUNNINGHAM Arch. Surv. III, 30 ff.*, *Rajasthanōgri* I, 108; *Tār.* 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Horuson Arch. Surv. of W. India, X, p. 33; 34; 36; of S. India, III, p. 26; 41; BHAGVATĀL ISRAH, Nāśik.*

<sup>4</sup> The story of the foundation is told *Voy. I, 241; II, 42.*

<sup>5</sup> Harṣa was in the 26th year of his reign a Śaivite; *BÖHTER, Ep. Ind. I, 71.*

<sup>6</sup> We know from the *Harṣacarita* 484 ff. that H. had a great veneration for the Buddhist teacher Dhvāṅkara-mitra Mañjūśrīyasa.

<sup>7</sup> *Voy. II, 340; 422.*

<sup>8</sup> *Rijet. IV, 3 ff.; 80.*

Nepāl, the kings and the people were no less distinguished by their tolerance<sup>1</sup>.

The decline of the Church, as already observed, may be dated from the middle of the eighth century. It was hastened in W. India by the Arab conquest of Sindh in A. D. 712.

#### 9. SINGHALESE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY CONTINUED. PARĀKRAMA- BĀHU I AND HIS SUCCESSORS. TANTRISM IN INDIA. THE BUD- DHISTS EXPELLED FIND A REFUGE IN NEPĀL.

The jealousies and quarrels between the monks of Ceylon subsided after the last outbreak of heresy in the reign of Agrabodhi. The repeated invasions of the island by the fierce Tamils certainly did much to foster the feeling of brotherhood among the monks, who in spite of all their dissensions were patriotic Singhalese and faithful sons of Buddha. More than once we hear of sacrilegious deeds and persecutions of the clergy by the enemy from Southern India, which could not but strengthen the unity of the Singhalese<sup>2</sup>. When therefore Saṅghabodhi Parākramabāhu I, reigning from A. D. 1153—1184, tried to restore the unity in the Church and to bring about a perfect reconciliation of all parties, by convoking a Council at Anarādhapura A. D. 1165, he saw his endeavours crowned with complete success<sup>3</sup>.

No less zealous was Nīrā-Nīśānka-Mālla (1187—1196). This monarch, too, boasts that he had united the three Nikāyas which had been separated for a long time; he claims credit for having restored the temples and Dagobas that were destroyed in consequence of the calamities which had befallen the island<sup>4</sup>. Unhappily the church had soon again to endure harsh treatment at the hands of the foreign usurper Māgha from Kālīnga, who in the commencement of the thirteenth century persecuted the true Faith<sup>5</sup>. This unhappy state of things lasted for twenty-one years, until Vijayabāhu about A. D. 1250 restored the dilapidations caused by the ruthless enemies and reintegrated the supremacy of Buddhism<sup>6</sup>. His son Parākramabāhu III (1267—1301) was not only a pious monarch, but a patron of learning, and himself a Sanskrit scholar. As there were few able teachers in the island, he invited several renowned scholars, among whom Dharmakīrti, from the Dekkhan to Ceylon<sup>7</sup>.

The history of the Singhalese Church in the subsequent centuries is not marked by stirring events. Up to our days Buddhism has maintained itself against the encroachments of Śivaism, Islām, and Christianity. The clergy has lost much of its influence, and monasticism is steadily losing ground, but the law of Buddha is still held high by the aristocracy and the people of old Singhalese extraction, though the popular form of religion, apart from some formulas, is extremely like Hinduism<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Voy. II, 407.

<sup>2</sup> How the Tamil domination made havoc in the ranks of the clergy appears e. g. from the fact that Vijayabāhu (1051—1126) sent to Rāmañña for learned monks; Mahāv. IX, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Mahāv. LXX: 4—10; LXXVII, 5—11; BIGANDET II, 142. Cp. Ed. MÜLLER inser. in Ceylon, p. 62 and Nr. 137; Taw SENG HO in Ind. Ant. XXII, 17.

<sup>4</sup> For MÖLLER op. c. Nr. 45 and p. 125. Cp. Mahāv. LXXX, 16 ff. Strangs that this ruler denounces the great Parākramabāhu as an oppressor; Ed. MÖLLER, op. c. p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Mahāv. LXXX, 58 ff. KUMAROV, Hist. of Ceylon 152.

<sup>6</sup> Mahāv. LXXXI, 18 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Mahāv. LXXXIII; LXXXV, 1—16.

<sup>8</sup> Highly instructive for the state of religion in the 17th cent. is ROBERT KNOX, An

The decline of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of Tantrism and sorcery, which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice. The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common. The object of Hindu Tantrism is the acquisition of wealth, mundane enjoyments, rewards for moral actions, deliverance, by worshipping Durgā, the Śakti of Śiva — Prajñā in the terminology of the *Malāyāna* — through means of spells, muttered prayers, *Samādhi*, offerings &c.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Buddhist Tantras purpose to teach the adepts how by a supernatural way to acquire desired objects, either of a material nature, as the elixir of longevity, invulnerability, invisibility, alchemy; or of a more spiritual character, as the power of evoking a Buddha or a Bodhisattva to solve a doubt, or the power of achieving in this life the union with some divinity. There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side, and the system of Yoga and *Karmamathāna* on the other. Tantrism is, so to say, a popularized and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga, because the objects are commonly of a coarser character, and the practices partly more childish, partly more revolting.

Tāranātha informs us that Tantrism existed and was transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti, but that after Dharmakīrti's times the Anuttara-Yoga became more and more general and influential. Substantially his statement is certainly right.<sup>2</sup> He adds that during the reign of the Pāla dynasty there were many masters of magic, Mantra-Vajracāryas, who, being possessed of various Śūddhis, performed the most prodigious feats.

The kings of the Pāla dynasty, whose sway over Gauṇja and the adjacent regions lasted from about A. D. 800 to 1050, are known both from the annals and their inscriptions as protectors of the Faith.<sup>3</sup> It was during that period that the monastery of Vikramādīti was a renowned centre of Tantrist learning.<sup>4</sup>

The Sena kings, who followed the Pālas in the dominion over Eastern India, though belonging to a Hindu persuasion, were not hostile to the Faith. Still Buddhism declined during their reign, and more so after the invasion of the country by the Muhammedāns in A. D. 1200<sup>5</sup>. The monasteries of Udayāpura and Vikramādīti were destroyed; the monks were killed or fled to other countries. The learned Śākyasri went to Orissa, and afterwards to Tibet; Ratnaskṣita to Nepāl; Buddhāmīra and others sought a refuge in S. India, whilst Saṅgama-Srijñāna with several of his followers betook themselves to Burma, Camboja, &c. And thus the law of Boddha became extinct in Magadha.<sup>6</sup>

historical relation of the Island Ceylon III, Ch. 6. For the present time see HARDY E. M. 309 ff.; KENNEDY op. c. 235.

<sup>1</sup> *Vajracāryas* in *Āryasiddha-Sūtrakāra*, p. 159. On the Tantrism of the Śākta or left-hand sects see WILSON Works I, 240 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Tār.* 201.

<sup>3</sup> *Tār.* 202—252; CHANDRASEKHAR Arch. Surv. III, 112; XI, 172—182. To this period may belong the inscription from Kōṭṭ, ed. by HOLTZSCH in *DMG.* of 1884, p. 546, but the date is not certain. See further HOLTZSCH, *The Pālas of Bengal*, Ind. Ant. XIV, 162, ff. and KERN, Ind. Ant. XVII, 307 ff.; XXI, 253 ff. Ep. Ind. II, 370.

<sup>4</sup> The monastery was situated in Magadha on the Northern bank of the Ganges. The superiors of the establishment were all of them Mantra-Vajracāryas; *Tār.* 257.

<sup>5</sup> Yet a Buddhist stone inscription from Srāvastī is dated (Vikramā) Śaṃvāt 1276 (= A. D. 1219—1220); it has been edited by KERN, Ind. Ant. XVII, 61 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The sacred spot of Gayā has up to modern times remained a place of pilgrimage. On the remarkable inscription dated 1813 Nirvāṇa, which according to BILAKRASA, & TRIVAJI's doubtful reckoning answers to A. D. 1176, see Ind. Ant. of 1881, — *Tār.* 255.



Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South, and founded colleges on a modest scale in Vijayanagara, Kalinga, and Koṅkan. The comparatively satisfactory condition of Buddhism in Dekkhan about that time is attested by the rich donations to the monastery at Dambal<sup>1</sup>.

In Kashmir Buddhism was by most kings treated with great tolerance; those who were inimical to the Faith, like Kṣemagupta (950—958) and the talented, but licentious Śrī-Harṣa (1088—1103) were equally ruthless in their dealings with other sects. The latter's successor rebuilt both monasteries and brahman temples<sup>2</sup>. It was not before A. D. 1340, when Shāh Mīr got the power in hand, that Islām became predominant, and Buddhism vanished, except in Ladāk.

In Bengal the Faith counted some adherents up to the 16th century. There is no reason to doubt the truth of a notice in Tārānātha, that a Bengal prince in the middle of the 15th century rebuilt the ruined monasteries and the terrace of the Bodhi tree at Gayā. In Orissa the light of the Law blazed anew for a moment about in the middle of the 16th century under the Hindu ruler Mukunda-Deva Hariścandra until, owing to the conquest of the country by the Muslimān governor of Bengal, it was extinguished<sup>3</sup>.

The sons of Śākya, driven away from Hindustān and Bengal, sought a refuge in Nepāl. Here they found a friendly reception by their brethren in the Faith, and liberal protection by the Hindu rulers, whose tolerance extended likewise to Christians<sup>4</sup>.

Nepāl is a storehouse of medieval Buddhist literature, both sacred and profane; the country is studded with Stūpas and other sanctuaries of ancient date<sup>5</sup>; the people, so far as they are no professors of Hindūism, worship Mahāyānist Bodhisattvas and Buddhas, and keep up the old formulas of the creed; but the Dharma has undergone profound modifications, and the Saṅgha has long since passed away. Nominally there is a distinction between Bhikkhus, who are bound to practice celibacy, and Vajracāryas, married men who devote themselves to the active ministry of Buddhism. "But no one follows the rules of the class to which he nominally belongs. All the Nepalese Buddhists are married men, who pursue the business of the world, and seldom think of the injunctions of their religion. The Tantras and Dhārmakī, which ought to be read for their own salvation, they only read for the increase of their stipend and from a greedy desire of money"<sup>6</sup>.

The four philosophical systems known by the name of Svāśāhāvika, Aīśvarika, Kārmika, and Vānika, whose development seems to be peculiar to Nepāl, have only a slight tinge of Buddhism. They acknowledge, nominally, the Triratna; Buddha means with them "mind"; Dharma "matter", and Saṅgha the connection of the two former in the phenomenal world. In fact the Svāśāhāvikas are simply Cārvākas; the Aīśvarikas have much in common with the Naiyāyikas and theistic Mīmāṃsists; the Kārmikas and Vānikas are upholders of the popular Indian views concerning *doṣa* and *puṇya*<sup>7</sup>. All these theories go back to remote times, but their superficial connection with the Buddhist Triad, and the curious interpretation of the meaning of Saṅgha render it probable that the systems have got their present shape in Nepāl.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot Ind. Ant. X, 186.

<sup>2</sup> Rajat. IV, 188 ff. 306; VI, 171; 303; VII, 1092; 1241; VIII, 2416.

<sup>3</sup> Tar. 236.

<sup>4</sup> A noteworthy instance of tolerance was given by the Śivaita Prakāśha-Bhāṣa in A. D. 1754. See Housson in JASR XVII, 2, 226.

<sup>5</sup> On the medieval character of Nepalese architecture see FERGUSON Hist. Ind. Arch. 299 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Housson Ess. 32. Cp. BHAGVĀNĀL in Arch. Surv. of W. India, IX, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> For particulars see Housson op. c. 23; 41; 53; 73; and cfr. Bṛhat-Saṅgha I, 7.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATED TITLES.

Ang. N.	Anguttara-Nikaya, ed. by R. Moosius; I—IV. Lond. 1885—1888.
Ann. Mus. Guimet	Annales du Musée Guimet.
Āpast.	Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus, ed. by G. Edmonst. Bombay 1868. 1874. Translat. by the same in SBE. II.
Arch. Surv.	Archæological Survey, by Jas. Burgess.
Avad. Kālp.	Avadāna-Kālpavāsa by Kṛemendra. Ed. Bibl. Ind. Calc.
Avad. Sat.	Avadāna-Cātaka, cent légendes (bouddhiques) traduites du sanscrit par L. FEER (Ann. Mus. Guimet XVIII. Paris 1891).
Ag. P. Pāram.	Aṣṭasādhika-Prājñā-Pāramitā, ed. Bibl. Ind. Calc.
BARTH Inscr. Camb.	Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge, par A. BARTH. Paris 1885.
BARTH Rel. of India	The Religions of India, by A. BARTH; authorized transl. by J. Wood. Lond. 1882.
BEAL Cat.	A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese by SAMUEL BEAL. Lond. 1871.
BEAL Rom. Leg.	Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha. From the Chinese by SAMUEL BEAL. Lond. 1875.
BEAL SHR. XIX	The Fo-Sho Hing-Tsan-King. A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Buddhaisita, transl. from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa A. D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL (Sacred Books of the East: vol. XIX.) Oxford 1885.
BEAL Tripit.	The Buddhist Tripitaka as it is known in China and Japan, by SAMUEL BEAL. Lond. 1876.
Bhadrak.	Extracs from the Bhadrakalpavādāna by S. N'OLUNSATKŌ, in the Zapiski of 1892.
Bibl. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica.
BURNSEY	The Life or Legend of Gaṇḍama the Buddha of the Burmese, by the Right Rev. P. BURNSEY, 3d ed. Lond. 1880.
Bodhiiv.	Mahā-Bodhi-Vamsa, ed. by S. A. SYRONG. Lond. 1891. (Authorized, by P. SANSHTA, iss. from the Lhasa-Vijaya Press 1890).
Brahma-S.	Vedāntasāraṇa with the Commentary of Śaṅkara and the Tika of Govindānanda. Ed. Bibl. Ind. Calc. 1863.
Buddhac.	The Buddhacarita of Asvaghosha, ed. by E. R. Cowell. (In Anecdota Oxoniensia). Oxford 1893.
Buddhav.	Buddhavarṇana, ed. by R. MORRIS. Lond. 1882.
Bull. Rel. de l'Inde	Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde.
BURNSEY Intr.	Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien, par E. BURNSEY. Paris 1844 (reprint 1876).
BURNSEY Lot.	Le Lotus de la bonne Loi, traduit du Sanscrit par E. BURNSEY. Paris 1852.
Caṇḍya-P.	Caṇḍya-Piṭaka, ed. by R. MORRIS. Lond. 1882.
CC. RR. de l'Acad. des Inscr.	Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres.
CHIDDERS	A Dictionary of the Pāli language by R. C. CHIDDERS. Lond. 1872—1875.
COLCROFT Ess.	Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus, by H. T. COLCROFT. Lond. 1873.
Corp. Inscr.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
CONNINGHAM Arch. Surv.	Archæological Survey of India. Reports by A. CONNINGHAM.
CV.	Caṭṭavagga (Vinaya Piṭaka II); ed. by H. CONNINGHAM, Lond. 1880.
Dharma-S.	Dharma-Saṅgraha, prepared for publication by Kenjia Katsurawa, and ed. by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WHEELER (Analecta Oxoniensia Vol. I. Part V). Oxford 1885.
Dharm. P.	Dharmakātha Paśyamaṇa and its Commentary, ed. by E. R. GOODEVATSE. Lond. 1892.

Dhp.	Dhammapadam, ed. by V. FAUSBÖLL, with Latin translation. Copenhagen 1835 (Other translations by A. WENZ in <i>Indische Streifen</i> , and by F. MAX MÜLLER in <i>SBE</i> , Vol. X, part 1).
Dh. Saṅgāsi Digha-N.	Dhamma-Saṅgāsi, ed. by ED. MÜLLER. Lond. 1885. Digha-Nikaya, ed. by T. W. RAY'S DAVIES and J. ESTLIN CARTER. Vol. I. Lond. 1889.
Dipav.	Dipavansa, ed. by H. OLSENBERG. Lond. 1879.
Divy.	Dharmapada, ed. by E. B. COWELL and K. A. NEAL. Camb. 1886.
DMG.	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .
Ep. Ind.	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> .
FERGUSON Hist. Ind. Arch.	History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. Lond. 1876.
FRANKFURTER Handb.	Handbook of Pali, by O. FRANKFURTER. Lond. 1883.
Gaṇḍama.	Gaṇḍama Dharmaśāstra. The Institutes of Gaṇḍama, ed. by A. F. STENZLER. Lond. 1876. Transl. by G. HÖRMER in <i>SBE</i> , Vol. II.
GGA.	Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.
HARDY E. M.	Eastern Monachism, by E. SPENCE HARDY. Lond. 1860.
HARDY Legends.	The Legends and Theories of the Buddhists, by E. SPENCE HARDY. Lond. 1866 (a second ed. 1881).
HARDY M. of B.	A Manual of Buddhism, by E. SPENCE HARDY. Lond. 1860 (a second ed. 1880).
HOBSON Ess.	Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet. Lond. 1874 (reprint).
Ind. Ant.	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> .
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JA.	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
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Peta-V.	Peta-Vatthu, ed. by J. P. MURRAY. Lond. 1889. Partially transl. by the same in <i>Zapiski</i> VI, 333.
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## Indogermanischen Altertumskunde

Grundzüge einer  
Kultur- und Völkergeschichte Alteuropas.

Von  
**OTTO SCHRADER,**  
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Lex. 8. XI, 1043 S. 1901.

Broschirt M. 27.—, in Halbfranz gebunden M. 30.—.

Die indogermanische Altertumskunde will die Ursprünge der Civilisation der indogermanischen Völker an der Hand der Sprache und der Altertümer, sowohl der prähistorischen wie der geschichtlichen, ermitteln. Was auf diesem an Ergebnissen und Streitfragen reichen Arbeitsgebiet bis jetzt geleistet worden ist, soll das vorliegende Reallexikon der idg. Altertumskunde zusammenfassen und weiter ausbauen. Zu diesem Zwecke stellt sich das Werk auf den Boden der historisch bezeugten Kultur Alteuropas, wo die Wurzeln und der Schwerpunkt der idg. Völker liegen, löst dieselbe unter geeigneten Schlagwörtern in ihre Grundbegriffe auf und sucht bei jedem derselben zu ermitteln, ob und in wie weit die betreffenden Kulturerscheinungen ein gemeinsames Erbe der idg. Vorzeit oder einen Neuerwerb der einzelnen Völker, einen selbständigen oder von aussen entlehnten, darstellen. So kann das Reallexikon zugleich als Grundzüge einer Kultur- und Völkergeschichte Alteuropas bezeichnet werden, indem die Rekonstruktion vorgeschichtlicher Zustände nicht sowohl Selbstzweck, als Hilfsmittel zum Verständnis der geschichtlichen Verhältnisse sein soll. Im allgemeinen begnügt sich das Werk damit, das erste Auftreten einer Kulturerscheinung festzustellen und ihre weitere Geschichte den Altertumskunden der idg. Einzelvölker zu überlassen, für die das Reallexikon eine Einleitung und Ergänzung sein möchte. Ein besonderer Nachdruck ist auf die Terminologie der einzelnen Kulturbegriffe gelegt worden, da es die Absicht des Werkes ist, den kulturhistorischen Wortschatz der idg. Sprachen, was hier zum ersten Mal versucht wird, als Ganzes sachlich und übersichtlich zu ordnen, sowie sprachlich zu erklären. Dabei sind ausser den eigentlichen Kulturbegriffen auch solche Begriffe als selbständige Artikel in das Reallexikon aufgenommen worden, welche für die Kulturentwicklung, die Wanderungen, die Rassenzugehörigkeit der idg. Völker, sowie für die Urheimsfrage, die einer erneuten Prüfung unterzogen wird, irgendwie von Bedeutung sein können.

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VERLAG VON KARL J. TRUBNER  
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